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Reservoirs of dignity and pride : schoolteachers and the creation of an educational alternative in Franco's Spain

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RESERVOIRS OF DIGNITY AND PRIDE; SCHOOLTEACHERS AND THE
CREATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVE IN FRANCO'S SPAIN.*

PhD

Sociology of Education

1st June 1989.

* Part of title is taken from an article "Model making" by
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This thesis consists, in the first place, of a social history of education in Spain, centered on the decade of the sixties which led up to the 1970 Education Act and the economic, political and social processes involved in the passing of this Act. At this time, Spain was still dominated by a fascist dictatorship but was emerging from its state of isolation created by Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War and undergoing a process of great social and economic change. As a result a unique process of "modernization", full of contradictions and restraints owing to the fascist nature of the Regime took place. The thesis maintains that the education system was ill prepared for this challenge and indeed played a minor role in the social transformation produced by an important industrializing process and large migration to the industrial centres.

The main part of the thesis is centered on teachers themselves and how they responded to the objective conditions analysed in the first part. Teachers found themselves immersed in a changing society and in an antiquated institution incapable of adapting to the changes. Even the so called reform proposed by the Regime was an attempt at apparent reform without change. Those teachers who developed politically and became active anti Regime

militants, offered and aspired to a quite different educational solution expressed in the democratic "Alternative". The development of a broad teachers' movement, of pedagogic groups and of a parents' movement, within the area of preschool, primary and secondary schooling is the main subject of this thesis. This study shows the difficulties of their activities under severely repressive conditions, and how their methods of struggle, the influence its nature had on its content and the fact that their very opposition to the Regime represented a political advance in anti fascist resistance gave place to the development of a democratic "Alternative" shared by all progressive teachers of the epoch.



Map of the regions and provinces of Spain

INTRODUCTION

Content of the thesis

In this thesis, a study is made of the education system from pre-school up to pre-University level. The election of this particular aspect of the education system is related to my own personal experience and to the singular situation which arose in Spain as a result of the Civil War, the defeat of the Spanish Republic and Franco's victory. Attention is concentrated on the more recent period leading up to the Education Bill of 1970 and its immediate consequences. This requires some analysis of the fascist/authoritarian nature of the Franco Regime and the resulting contradictions which emerged as the process of industrialization commenced in the late fifties.

The attitude maintained from the start of the Franco Regime towards education and the most significant legislative measures that were taken in order to bring the existing system, or better said, what had existed during the II Republic, into line with the prevailing ideological and political scheme is shown. How this process proceeded, with

greater or lesser intensity and varying approaches, from the initial steps taken by the "Junta de Defensa Nacional", an institution set up in 1936 by the National Rising which defied the legitimate Republic elected by popular suffrage, up to the Education Bill passed by Franco's Government in 1970, the second such Bill to be passed in Spain, is studied. From the start of the Franco epoch, the Church and religious order schools were seen to hold a predominant role. The Church had always been allied to traditional, conservative forces in the field of education and consequently clashed with liberal, progressive forces who tried to regenerate Spanish society, especially through education and the spread of cultural enlightenment. During the progressive, democratic period in Spanish history, represented by the II Republic of 1931 to 1936, open hostility between the Government and the Church centered around the theme of education. After the Republic's defeat, the fascist Regime delegated to the Church the task of ensuring the education of the dominant classes and future leaders of society.

This particular moment of the education system in Spain, during the decade of the sixties, the 1970 Education Act and its immediate aftermath up to 1973, represented a singular situation which arose in this country as a result of the defeat of the Spanish Republic and the establishment of a

Fascist Regime in Europe, coinciding with the II World War which succeeded in eliminating German and Italian fascism. As a result Spain was condemned to an isolation from mainstream economic, political, cultural and social currents prevalent in the rest of the Continent. Its education system which had been backward in a quantitative sense, although relatively advanced qualitatively during the period of the II Republic, was thereby plunged into a prolonged period of stagnation, stifling repression and neglect.

The fascist, authoritarian nature of "official education" will be briefly examined, especially in the context of the industrialization process which commenced in the fifties, in order to determine the greater or lesser importance of its role within the ensuing process of social change. The total inadequacies of such a system, the thesis maintains, made it incapable of dealing with the new demands of industry, while at the same time the emergence of a growing struggle against the fascist regime, obviously brought into question the shortcomings of the education system. The demand for free education for all and access to culture became slogans around which an ample vanguard rallied. The recently arrived workers in the cities who had rushed to seek work in the expanding industrial sector, leaving behind their villages and rural way of life, were becoming increasingly conscious of their defenceless situation and the importance of

education, which, at least, they could demand for their children.

In a period when, in the rest of Europe, once the Second World War had ended, greater attention was being paid to the various education systems, access was being guaranteed to ever increasing numbers of children and the duration of the period of compulsory education was being prolonged, in Spain, during its post war period (1939 onwards), schools which had been destroyed in the war were not replaced and, indeed, no building took place until the decade of the fifties. The dominant culture was ideologically fascist and the people of Spain who had defended their Republic and democracy were defeated and repressed. Yet, in this decade of the fifties, a period of industrial development took place which in some senses signified the emergence of a modern Spain, more comparable to its European neighbours, but which carried with it enormous social scars and deficiencies arising out of its peculiar political composition. One of the most backward elements of this "modern" society was its education system. Its role or the lack of it, as this thesis maintains, in the building of modern Spain, and the importance it was given by the forces which fought against the Regime for democracy, as well as the reactions which the various social and political groups which supported the Regime developed, as a consequence of

this struggle, are of interest for the uniqueness of their situation in a European context. These form the main themes of this thesis.

Studies on this period

In most of the studies of this period, little notice is paid to the education system as a whole. In general, the University and higher education has attracted far greater attention. The fact that, in order to describe the system of infant, primary and secondary education, the phrase "enseñanza no universitaria" that is, non university education, is used, can convey an idea of the neglect from a social point of view, that this section, obviously far wider than that of higher education, has endured. Added to this, such popular expressions as "Pasar más hambre que un maestro de escuela", "suffer more hunger than a schoolteacher" give an indication of the secular impoverishment to which the schools and their teachers have been subjected.

Nevertheless, the central importance of the whole education system of a country, especially throughout a period of economic growth and relative modernization, is undeniable. Also as part of the struggle of democratic forces endeavouring to overcome a fascist Regime and propose a

democratic alternative, it is of interest to study the importance which was given, in such a programme, to educational reform.

With regard to the areas which most publications referring to the field of education in the Franco era have covered, much greater attention has been paid to the University. Writers such as Salvador Giner, Jose Maria Maravall, Jose Luis Aranguren, Pedro Lain Entralgo, Carlos Paris and Enrique Tierno Galván have centered their studies on the University, its role in the society of that epoch, critical appraisals of its function and analysis of the significance of student opposition to the Regime.

More empirical studies of education as a whole have been carried out by Salustiano del Campo and José Castillo, relating to the decade of the sixties and seventies, and by Carlos Lerena who carried out a systematic criticism of empirical sociology of education.

In Granada studies were based on the democraticization of education by Jose Jimenez Blanco, Miguel Beltrán and Jose Cazorla. This group belonged to what was called the "School of Granada" founded by Francisco Murillo and Luis Sánchez Agesta.

Amando de Miguel, related to American sociology, has produced many studies on education in general related to economic development, social change and mobility, democracization and education. The same themes, from a marxist point of view have been dealt with by Ignacio Fernandez de Castro. Victor Perez Diez also studied the relation between migration of the working population and education. Alberto Moncada carried out various studies on educational administration and reform.

Jaume Carbonell and Fabricio Caviano, editors of the educational review "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" have centered their attention especially on primary education, its teachers and conditions from a critical, broadly marxist point of view.

Studies which were published in the seventies by Marina Subirats, Valeriano Bozal, Esteban Medina, Fernando Martinez Pereda, Jesús Cambre, Eloy Terrón, referred to the 1970 Education Act and its results from a critical, opposition standpoint.

The question of education, of course, appears in the general works on this period. Of great importance are the historians, Manuel Tuffon de Lara, a specialist on the workers' movement who also devoted many pages to the history

of culture, Miguel Martinez Cuadrado and Manuel Ramirez. Two important collective works the "Historia de España" directed by Tuñon de Lara and "Historia de España" directed by Miguel Artola, cover the Franco period extensively. Elias Díaz's work on the history of ideas during Franco's era is also an important contribution to an understanding of the period.

Juan Linz has published more generally on the nature of the Franco regime, maintaining a definition of the authoritarian rather than fascist state, which has been refuted by Manuel Ramirez in his studies which maintain its fascist content. Sergio Vilar, Jordi Solé Tura, Daniel Sueiro and Bernardo Diaz Nosty have equally sustained the latter point of view.

In English the works of Carr, Jackson, Payne, Gilmour and Preston have all dealt with the period of Franco, studying the nature of the Regime and the emergence of the opposition. While these are all general studies, they do enter into the nature of the Franco Regime and the problems of underground opposition which form part of the background to this thesis.

More specifically concerned with education in English, Morris Horowitz has published a study of the period of the Education Act from a human capital point of view; John McNair has also studied this period and provided an over all

picture of education in Spain at that time. Kenneth Medhurst and José Casanova have studied the different elements which made up the power structure of Franco's regime, bureaucrats and Opus Dei and their relation to the modernizing process.

Educational reform and the Opposition: central theme of this thesis

Within the Regime, some of the more advanced elements, conscious of the necessity for Spain to abandon the total isolation in which it had been immersed since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 and enter into the competitive field of the western capitalist world, became aware of the need to bring the education system more in line with European practice. However, the more reactionary or dyed in the wool fascist elements saw no need for such a reform and, indeed, were highly suspicious of it, with the result that the attempt, when it was made, was already considerably weakened from within. The Church had an ambivalent attitude, as it favoured in part the "modernizing" aspects of the reform, but attacked anything which endangered their hold on and privileged position in education.

The first steps taken in reform by the Franco Regime, the

White Paper (1969) and ensuing Education Bill (1970), are examined, as well as the criticisms and reactions which they met with. Both these documents are looked at in the light of the prevailing social, economic and political situation, as well as the precise state of the education system itself. The criticisms which this reform received came both from within the Regime and from the growing forces of the opposition, in particular from those themselves involved professionally in the field of education. The latter were obviously limited to a minimum expression due to the nature of the Regime and the lack of democratic freedom.

The thesis intends, as its main objective, to demonstrate the capacity, in spite of severe repression and all the restrictions imposed by a police State, of teachers, parents and progressive movements in general, to create an opposition movement in the field of education. The experiences and formulations of this opposition movement in education are examined, which also involves looking into the extent to which the limitations of their illegal situation conditioned the content of their formulations and the very nature of their movement. The particular forms which this took are gone into and, within the limitations of an underground movement, its efforts to surface and make itself and its aims known to an increasingly aware public opinion, are examined with special attention. This involves studying

the forms of association and publication that took place and exploring the various avenues into which the opposition was forced, due to the nature of the police state in which they were working and the degree of repression to which they were subjected and, consequently, had to face and take into account as a constant factor of their struggle.

An analysis is made of the different strands running through the opposition movement, educational, political and trade union. The different elements which contributed to these are studied: the exact legal framework; the peculiar nature of the Spanish education system; the dependent nature of industrial development; the migratory movements from countryside to city; the effects of police repression; the attitude of the Catholic Church; the clandestine political parties which were active under the Franco Regime; the community of interest established with the workers movement, university students' movement and other professional movements; the struggle for democratic liberties and, in particular, amnesty.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the objective conditions in the country which emerged with special intensity in the decade of the sixties and

finally made educational reform of some kind, a necessity. This part attempts to be a straightforward account of what happened in educational policy and how its application attempted to change the reality of schools. It explains how social change, brought about by industrial development and economic growth, impinged on the education system from outside, in the form of a growing demand for schooling and an increasing consciousness on the part of everyone concerned, parents, pupils, teachers and the administration, of the inadequacies and inappropriateness of the existing system. The reform proposed, it is maintained, attempted to make the minimum changes in the substance and processes of education and retain the essentially repressive, authoritarian and class biased nature of the education system. This first part explains the context in which the teachers opposition movement, the main subject of the thesis which is developed in the second part, carried out its struggles and formulations.

In the second part, the same period is examined, but this time in relation to teachers of the opposition to the Franco Regime and their responses to the concrete conditions set out in the first part. This opposition was able to sustain itself and advance under adverse conditions of repression. During this period, the new life style emerging, especially in the larger cities and industrialised areas, was breaking

down customs and habits of the traditional Spain which the Franco Regime had been at great pains to reestablish after the Civil War, and more progressive ideas began to circulate, greatly stimulated by the clandestine Political Parties of the left. Such ideas reached teachers who attempted to apply them to their own professional situation, which meant clashing with the established order and entering into open defiance of the Regime. "At the level of political criticism of the regime or at the level of organizational politics...repression was very harsh: just as an isolated instance, democratic trade union leaders were still being sentenced in December 1973 to up to twenty years in prison for organizing free labour unions. From 1965, roughly, two worlds seemed to exist in Spain: political inactivity opened the door to material goods of an increasingly affluent society while it also became possible to indulge in ideological radicalism. This was the bright side of civilization, tolerance and well-being. On the other hand, political activity against the regime led to the dark side: repression, fear and persecution." (1)

The two parts of the thesis deal with the same period and material, from different points of view. While this may lead to overlapping, it is felt to be justified in so far as it is necessary to the thesis's purpose, to examine what was happening in the education system in the first place, in a

European country under such singular conditions, and in the second place, to be able to understand what teachers in opposition were fighting against and under what circumstances they were carrying on this struggle. These very circumstances, inevitably, influenced the methods and content of their struggle. The thesis sets out to show that their proposals were diametrically opposed to the reform advocated by the Regime and that, in spite of the lack of democratic liberties and repression, they managed to create a coherent opposition movement and develop their own alternative proposals for educational reform.

There is, it is maintained, a coherence between the two parts, in so far as they are studying two sides of the same coin: the overall education system on the one hand and teachers themselves, immersed in this system on the other. In the first part the causes of repression are examined, while in the second the liberating efforts of teachers in opposition, is the theme. From the education system we are shown an exercise in authoritarian power, while through the opposition's struggles, a genuinely political movement is advanced. The objective factors of Spain in the sixties, undergoing its peculiar modernizing process within a dictatorship, as shown in the first part, is opposed, in the second part, to the subjective response of teachers to these adverse conditions and experiences. The objective factors

contain within them a secular cultural backwardness, while the opposing struggle aims at a progressive, liberating enlightenment. From Government and the administration, bureaucratic controls, repressive methods and the stifling of innovating ideas emerge as the normal practice, while the opposition forces attempt, through the very process of their struggle, to open up new perspectives and create a new democratic school, fit for a democratic society.

Rationale of the thesis

Up to now, far greater attention has been paid to the first side of this coin, in different aspects of social studies on Spain during the last period of the Franco Regime. Yet the originality and creativity of the movements which initially were of resistance but which were forced, through their experiences under repressive conditions to do more than resist, that is to anticipate their concept of the future and draw up projects and proposals for it, is of equal interest and importance. "Apart from the fact that the heroism of Spanish anti-fascists deserves to be chronicled on its own terms, it should also be remembered that it has had considerable importance in the creation of the present political situation in Spain....In general terms, the anti-Franco resistance provides a reservoir of dignity and pride which has been the Spanish left's greatest weapon in

its efforts to expunge the graft, corruption and repression associated with the old regime." (2)

The title of this thesis has been taken from the above quotation from Paul Preston's critique of Jose Maria Maravall's study on the Spanish workers' and students' movements in opposition to Franco in the sixties and seventies.

It was chosen because it seems to express precisely what is attempted in this thesis, namely the study of an underground teachers' movement, struggling in the face of fascist repression, not only to organize a resistance movement, but also to develop an alternative education policy for the future democracy which represented this movement's ultimate goal.

That the activities and theses of a minority vanguard movement nevertheless can have a social importance, is borne out by the subsequent experience in Spain. Within the Regime and the forces which supported it, there were obviously elements which were able to foresee the end of the dictatorship, which literally took place on the death of the Dictator, but which by that time was already showing signs of erosion and change. Such elements participated in the "modernizing" process and directly and indirectly, intentionally and inadvertently, helped create the

circumstances which made possible the unique Spanish experience of the "Transition", a peaceful passing from an authoritarian State to a Democratic one. These same circumstances were fashioned in response to the opposition's protest, as well as in response to the needs of modern capitalism, and the constant interaction of such forces at work, made up the specific situation which produced the subsequent unique historical process.

The broad theoretical perspective on which this thesis is based, is that class struggle is a permanent feature of all capitalist societies and that as material conditions change, so forms of struggle change. In Spain the guerrilla war sustained during the immediate post war period, the most overtly fascist one, combined with attempts to maintain clandestinely the unions which had existed during the Republic, were defeated, but led on to the emergence of new forms of struggle as the country turned into a more modern capitalist State, more in contact with world economy. New forms of capitalist accumulation forced the Government to change its methods, and so technocratic, Opus Dei Ministers brought in modernizing elements, which in turn offered the workers new opportunities for their struggle. In the same way, the need for some form of educational reform proposed and brought in by the Regime, opened up new perspectives of struggle for teachers. At the same time, the thesis examines

how opposition forces can survive and develop under severely repressive conditions and how this very experience affects and influences their methods of struggle and the content of their programmes.

In a study of the workers' and students' movements from 1939 till 1975 in Spain, (3) Jose Maria Maravall clearly indicates how the commencement of the decade of the sixties meant both the important reshuffle of government (new technocratic Ministers) and "1962 was the beginning of what was to become an uninterrupted struggle both for the student and the working class movements: this marked the beginning of a series of strikes (by miners, metal workers and students), the creation of an underground student organization (FUDE) and the formation in Asturias, the Basque Country, Catalonia and Madrid of illegal workers' committees as an alternative to the official trade unions." (4) In this way both the Regime, by commencing its "modernizing" process, and the opposition by introducing new forms of struggle and new organizational methods as appropriate instruments with which to foment this struggle, were both responding to the new material conditions created in the country by industrial expansion and economic growth.

In the above mentioned study, Maravall, by defining its aims, at the same time demonstrates the various aspects

which have to be covered, in order to show how opposition forces can survive and develop under a dictatorship. "The main theoretical characteristic of this book is possibly the use of different but compatible approaches to the central problem of how political dissent is possible under a dictatorship. This issue is divided into several parts, which refer in particular to the possible contradictions between capitalist growth and autocratic institutions. We shall discuss the combinations of economic and political factors that encouraged working class dissent. Then there are the processes of political socialization; the policies of underground organizations and their management of secrecy, mobilization, and recruitment, the experience of militancy and repression." (5)

In Maravall's work an attempt is made to use the case and circumstances of Spain as an illustration of a wider model. This aspect has been criticised as diluting the overall result. "Unfortunately, the effort to generalise by discussing the working class struggle against Franco in terms of "a working class" and "a dictatorship" deprives the Spanish story of much of its drama without really telling us anything about other cases. The blood and guts of the story are sacrificed to the sociological model." (6) The criticism goes on to lament that the brevity of the publication deprived readers of gaining a greater insight

into Maravall's deep personal knowledge of his subject.

In this thesis it is intended to show how the process of struggle carried out by teachers in the face of repression in Franco's Spain, was indeed a dramatic one and, it is maintained, worthy of study simply on its own merits, as an exceptional experience in the social history of education. No attempt will be made to establish any abstract sociological model applicable in general to opposition in repressive regimes, as the thesis is concerned with the specific social history of opposition in Spain as it was carried out by school teachers.

The drama or "blood and guts" are an essential part of the study of opposition struggle under a fascist dictatorship, if it is to be made comprehensible in general terms, and especially to those who have not lived through such a situation. Certainly they are not entirely missing from Maravall's work which provides vivid and dramatic examples through the many interviews of worker and student militants, which are quoted. The need to portray these elements have a direct implication on the use of information and sources and the requirement of a very pragmatic methodology, as Maravall himself states.

The methodology employed in Maravall's studies and his

attempt to examine a period of clandestine struggle carried out by workers and students, coincides with this thesis's intention of studying school teachers' struggle during the same period. In Maravall's study the historical, political and social importance of the opposition is recognised and the necessity to bring out its importance as the Franco regime had continually hidden or distorted any information on what was happening in the country during the last period of the Dictatorship. His work is an important empirical contribution to an understanding of the processes involved, although his insistence on fitting it into a general theoretical framework and reducing the actual material being examined to a mere case study does detract from the important elements which emerge through the course of this research, without really permitting generalised conclusions to be reached, since the specific situation in Spain at the end of the Franco era were exceptional.

The difficult question, faced by all democratic struggle against dictatorships, as to whether to remain completely underground or try and surface through the utilization of legal platforms, is analysed as well as the very important role played by the main left wing, illegal, political parties. It could be said that the study overestimates the role of the Socialist party at this time, as the Communist and Catholic groups were numerically much more important and

held a greater influence in both the workers' and student movements. The vitality and realism which greatly assist in transmitting a true appreciation of the period and the difficulties which participation in the struggle signified for the individual, clearly emerge from the interviews. This study may be said to open up a whole panorama of anti Franco resistance and its processes which may lead to a much greater understanding of present day Spain. Maravall's work may be said to be the one example of the type of research on the late Franco period which is attempted in this thesis.

In the case of this thesis, my personal experience as a practising primary teacher in Spain from the early fifties on, and my involvement with activities of the opposition to the Regime, especially related to the mobilization of teachers and the study of the education system and its problems, places me in a privileged position as a reporter of events during a period of clandestine struggle. The fact that I was an activist in the Teachers' movement from the sixties on, that I participated in many of the events described and was privileged to know most of the teachers in Madrid who were involved in anti-Regime activities, as well as many of the leaders of this movement from other parts of the country, has allowed me access to considerable first hand knowledge of how the movement developed. Its initial analyses, their evolution and formulation as aims and

methods of struggle formed part of my personal experience, as well as the painstakingly prepared actions and advances and the many hardships and frustrations caused by repression.

Without personal knowledge of such a period, it is difficult to acquire a real picture of what took place, as the documentary evidence is obviously very scant, due to the clandestine nature of such activities. Censorship made legal publication of political, social and trade union documents practically impossible and the illegal publications had an ephemeral existence, constantly at the mercy of police raids. Newspaper accounts of different events were equally censored and indeed, tended to indicate that the events had not really taken place, as an authoritarian state, even in its days of final decomposition cannot afford to admit publically to the cracks in its own structure; although in 1966 a Press Act, another "modernizing" gesture, while not representing real democratic freedom, did nevertheless open up the possibility of information on opposition activities being reported in a neutral, distanced style.

Methodology

The sources of evidence, follow very much the pattern described in Maravall's study. (7) In order to give

information on the progress of the Education Bill through the "Cortes", (Spanish Parliament, which at that time was, of course, neither representative nor democratic), newspaper accounts were used. In particular, "Nuevo Diario", a national, daily paper, owned by Opus Dei, gave especially ample coverage of the Bill. In relation to accounts of opposition activities, again "Nuevo Diario" and "Ya", the Catholic Propagandist newspaper, (8) were the ones which paid most attention to education and teachers. Also the evening papers, "Informaciones", "Madrid" and "Pueblo" were useful sources.

Documents and leaflets, of an illegal, clandestine nature were another important source of knowledge of the activities of the underground teachers' movement. A collection has been accumulated from different parts of the country, and it is my intention to classify the nearly 200 examples in my possession and deposit them in an appropriate library (9). In the bibliography they are listed by title and date or approximate date where none is given. For the purpose of this thesis I will refer to this collection as "author's archives". These have been an important source for studying the development of the teachers' movement itself and of the alternative programme which they were in a continual process of drawing up. Equally important in this context have been the, this time, legal publications of the "Colegio de

Licenciados".

It must be pointed out, however, that access to sources proved difficult for various reasons. In the case of written information and publications of the teachers' movement, this was, as pointed out, scant due to the clandestine nature of the movement and of the political parties supporting it. In the case of reliable statistical information on education during the Franco period, this again was very slight as either it had not been compiled or was not distributed owing to the lack of democratic freedom. The Libraries available to the author were, the Library of the Ministry of Education, which had very limited opening hours and the National Library.

Another extremely important source of information and analysis of the opposition movement in education were a series of interviews of teachers who had been active in this movement. The teachers chosen, were leaders and activists in the movement, from, as far as possible, different parts of the country. All of them were known to me, from the time in which we were all activists in this movement, during the period under study. They represented militants of different political parties, notably the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as being persons who remained involved in education, either as teachers or in educational

administration. The close collaboration and cooperation experienced in the leadership of the Teachers' movement between communists and socialists was an enriching and exceptional characteristic of this epoch. The basis of these interviews was a simple questionnaire concerning the origins of the movement, its aims, methods of struggle, important actions, relations with other anti Regime movements and its Alternative. In practice, many other aspects were covered in the conversations of from four to eight hours duration, in one or two sessions, which took place. In all, 8 interviews were completed, although preliminary conversations were held with 5 other teachers, without the formal recorded interview, based on the questionnaire, actually taking place. The geographical areas covered were Madrid, Sevilla, Asturias, Galicia, and Euzkadi. Great emphasis is placed on events in Madrid, which was also the scene of my own personal experiences.

In a very real sense, these interviews can be described as forming part of a collective memory, in which I myself participate and which helped to corroborate or correct the analyses set out in this thesis with regard to the teachers' movement. As stated, they were chosen because they had been activists in the teachers' movement of opposition and were all known to me from that time. Equally they were interested in this project and prepared to devote their time to

answering the simple survey and recalling those events which had been important in the teachers' struggle.

While the question of the representativeness of such activists is very difficult to demonstrate when referring to a clandestine period of struggle, nevertheless it can definitely be claimed that they were active in this movement at the time, that they were, in most cases, leaders of this movement and as such, creators of the processes and contents of teachers' struggles and teachers' alternatives which are the subject of this thesis. The fact that they were also militants in the clandestine parties meant that, even under such repressive conditions, they had had the opportunity of widening their viewpoints through collective discussion and reflection and so raising their analysis of their experiences to a higher level of political comprehension of the overall scene of the opposition's struggle against Franco's dictatorship.

Without such oral evidence, it would be almost impossible to reconstruct events as they took place within repressive circumstances which did not permit any written records being kept. In general, it can be said that those interviewed had a clear memory of events, although none of us can claim to be totally free of subjective interpretations nor of memory gaps. In many cases, inaccuracies as to the sequence of

events were corrected by successive interviews. Most of those interviewed were teachers who had reflected on their past experience, some of them had written articles etc. about it and all of them were still involved either in political, Union or professional activities, which meant that they were continually recalling those events in relation to their present reality.

Another important interview was that held with Blat Jimeno who had been the main author of the White Paper on educational reform, which led up to the Education Bill of 1970. He was the person in the best position to describe how this Paper had been compiled and he was frank and eager to describe his experiences at that time.

Throughout the thesis, reference is made to a broad, anti Franquist teachers' movement which acted in a variety of platforms and organizations, both of a legal and clandestine nature, all of which are studied. The core organization which served as the main impulse to the movement during this period, the thesis maintains, was the Teachers' Commissions, a broad, pluralist, loosely structured form of organization, modelled on the experience of the Workers' Commissions and on the Students' movement. Those who clearly belonged to these Commissions and were definitely defined members of them, were nearly always leaders and activists who also

belonged to clandestine political parties. Around them were gathered an ample vanguard of teachers, who evolved within the orbit of Teachers' Commissions, whose documents they read and whose directives, assemblies whenever possible, and calls for action they followed and who are considered, within the terms of this study as being members of the Movement, directed in most cases by Teachers' Commissions. The fact that the candidatures for the legal "Colegios de Licenciados" and for elections in the legal State Vertical Trade Unions, were as openly as possible, declared as Teachers' Commissions and Teachers' Movement's candidates, is evidence of the fact that they represented a conscious, collective anti Franco force. It is true that within the specific context of a professional movement, united in an anti fascist struggle, many political differences which, in other circumstances would make themselves evident, were swamped by the urgent tasks at hand and by a growing state of agreement over the proper solutions for education, which their common experiences of struggle produced. The dominant ideology of Commissions and their leaders, was marxist in a broad sense, and their final aim was to produce a total breaking with the Regime and its structures; while many of the teachers who participated in this movement were not consciously marxists, although they recognised and accepted Commissions' proposals and methods of struggle, which they themselves helped to promote. In this sense it is maintained

that a study of anti Franco teachers at this period, can be justifiably viewed from the stance of Teachers' Commissions, the wide pluralist movement which operated in the various legal platforms and from the "backbone" (10) of this process, which were the clandestine parties of the left.

A chronological table is included as an Appendix, with special reference to events connected with education, in order to help situate events in their correct context. Some Spanish names of organizations, institutions and educational terminology are retained, followed by their translation or equivalent, while a glossary is supplied of all Spanish words used in the text, in another Appendix. When the above mentioned interviews are quoted, the speaker's name and a brief professional and geographical description is given in the footnote. In a further Appendix, some of the clandestine pamphlets are quoted in translation. Those chosen were the ones which most clearly communicate or illustrate the objectives and ways of struggle of this movement.

Part 1 commences with a historical introduction, which is intended to set the scene for the events of the sixties and early seventies. In this introduction, special attention is paid to events concerning education. That is followed by a chapter which describes the economic growth and industrial expansion which took place during the sixties. The parallel

process of emigration and migration of workers from the land to the cities, either in Spain or abroad, is explained and the cultural level of these workers examined. At this period of development and expansion, the new government which attempted to meet these new circumstances and introduce reforms and the effectiveness of these measures, are analysed. In this chapter the thesis intends to show that the education system as such, played a very small role in the process of converting peasants and agricultural workers into urban, industrial workers.

The last two chapters of this first part, analyse the Government's White Paper on education and the Education Bill, which was presented to the "Cortes" in 1970. In the first of these chapters the White Paper's description of the education system is discussed and the various reactions to its proposals are studied. In the second of these chapters, the forces within the Regime which resisted the reform as being contrary to the essence and objectives of the Regime are studied and it is explained how they managed to dilute much of the final Education Act's impact.

In Part 2, the thesis centres on teachers in opposition to the Regime and demonstrates how they were able to create a coherent opposition movement and develop an educational alternative under very difficult circumstances. The first

chapter in this part, explains teachers' situation and shows what models they chose to help them to organize their struggle. The next chapter gives the background of the political opposition struggles against the Regime and shows how and where teachers organized and created a social and political space for themselves, in spite of the restrictive circumstances of the epoch. Once sufficient forces had been accumulated, teachers moved to action. Initial vanguard actions are studied and, the thesis maintains that these actions, added to the organizational, accumulating process, made possible the emergence of a coherent movement capable of nation wide strike actions which had a great impact on society and damaged the Regime.

In the final chapter, the movements of pedagogic reform and of parents are the subject of analysis. The former, sometimes stemming from and at others converging with the teachers' movement, is seen to have enriched the content of teachers' democratic Alternative. The presence of parents within schools and their importance in breaking down schools' isolation is also studied. Finally the Alternative which represents a synthesis of all these combative, anti Regime teachers' experiences, analyses and struggles, is itself analysed.

In order to understand the present day situation in Spain,

its specific problems and the reactions which any solution or reform provoke in various sectors of society, it is necessary to understand the preceding period which has created both a special series of problems and deficiencies in the education system, different from the rest of Europe, and also a definite programme of reform generally held by democratic forces on emerging from the period of the dictatorship. This programme, the thesis maintains, possesses particular characteristics which arose out of the historic circumstances of its inception and subsequent development.

Notes.

1. Maravall, Dictatorship and Political Disent, London, Tavistock Publications, 1978, Page 9.
2. Preston. "Model Making". New Society. July 1978.
3. Maravall Op. cit.
4. Maravall. Op. cit. Page 11.

5. Idem. Page 13.
6. Preston Op. cit.
7. Maravall. Op. cit. Pages 13 and 14.
8. The "Asociación Católica de Propagandistas", ACNP, National Catholic Association of Propagandists was composed of conservative catholics who supported the Franco Regime. The daily newspaper "Ya" was their organ of expression.
9. "Fundación 1 de Mayo", "Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas".
10. Maravall. Op. cit. Page 12.

Part 1 Education in Franco`s Spain.

Introduction:

This part of the thesis is concerned with the social history of education in Spain, centered on the decade of the sixties which led up to the 1970 Education Act and the economic, political and social processes involved in the passing of this Act. In order to understand the situation of education in Spain in that period, under a fascist dictatorship, it is necessary to examine briefly the most important aspects of educational history in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Through this historical introduction it is intended to show why education was in such a backward state at the time of the period under examination and why it was inevitably surrounded by political tension, frequently becoming the direct cause of social and political upheaval. Liberal, progressive forces of the 19th and 20th centuries placed great trust in the liberating capacity of education and a significant part of their political programmes were devoted

to the subject. In their emphasis on a democratic and increasingly egalitarian school system, which obviously developed and advanced throughout these two centuries, they clashed with the reactionary forces who delegated the satisfaction of their educational demands to the Church. The Church's programme in education was elitist and any provision for working or peasant classes was maintained at a very limited, elementary level.

Primary and Secondary education and the school system in general, are the subject of this thesis. In most studies, much greater attention has always been paid to the University level which has played a spectacular part in the struggles between liberal and traditional Spain, but the important social significance of the school system which reaches a far greater proportion of the population has not been studied to any great extent. In fact the expression "non university education" is used, even today, in order to denominate, in a negative manner, these school levels.

During the period under review, the decade of the sixties and up until 1973, Spain, still dominated by a fascist dictatorship, emerged from its state of isolation entered into after Franco's victory in the Civil War and underwent a process of great social and economic change. This was produced by a fairly intense economic growth and wide

industrialised expansion. The result was the commencement of a unique process of modernization, full of contradictions and restraints, which nevertheless produced considerable changes in Spanish society. The thesis maintains that the school system was ill prepared for such a challenge as this process represented and, indeed, played a very minor role in the whole transformation. This will be demonstrated by studying the working population's movements and its cultural level as well as the state and content of schools of the epoch.

The changes in the nature of Spanish society inevitably affected both the manner in which the Regime continued to dominate the country and the forms of resistance to this domination, carried out by the opposition forces. As an example of such changes, some members of Franco's regime belatedly realized the necessity for educational reform in order to supply an adequately qualified work force which the growing industries demanded. Such a modernizing step, it is maintained, was an attempt to perpetuate the fascist dictatorship within the context of a modern European capitalist country. Added to this evident contradiction were the reactions of other elements of the Regime, entirely opposed to such reform and struggling to retain the original principles and intrinsic nature of the Regime as it was established at the end of the Civil War. At the same time,

during the sixties both workers and students showed an ever increasing and more combative opposition to the Regime. Universities were in constant turmoil and the authorities had resort to repression as the only means at their disposal of crushing the revolt and imposing their concept of law and order. This was an added motive, on the part of the reformers, for attempting to introduce important changes in education.

Cities and industrialised areas had grown, their populations having been increased by a vast rural migration in search of work and a higher standard of living. As workers achieved greater stability in their new surroundings, one of their principal social demands was schools for their children. Popular pressure was exercised, although they possessed no legally established channels, and another voice was added to the demands for educational reform.

Both workers and student opposition struggles are studied as they have a direct relation to the reform proposals. In this period they were reaching sufficient intensity to alarm the Government and provoke different reactions, one to increase repression, and another to acknowledge the need for educational reform. The fact that the proposal was not received with enthusiasm by other sectors of the Regime is, it is maintained, a living expression of the Regime's

inherent contradictions.

A White Paper was produced at the end of the decade which represented the first steps in the reform process. It analyzed or, at any rate, described the chaotic situation of schools, with unusual frankness. Its concrete proposals were very imprecise and expressed with timidity, as though fearing to offend those elements of the Regime who were opposed to any advance in educational provision and especially to any great public expenditure in that area. This White Paper and its reform proposals are critically examined. Its appearance, of course, created great interest and polarised opinion among opposition groups. Their analysis of its causes and their scepticism as to its possible results is studied.

Based on the White Paper, a draft Bill was drawn up and its study and the changes which were produced in it through the pseudo parliamentary debate, indicate the strength of the opposition met with from within the Regime itself. The various political families which made up the alliance which supported this dictatorship are analysed and the reasons for their opposition to the reform. The Church occupied the main role as they regarded the Bill as a threat to their almost absolute dominion in the educational sphere.

To sum up, this part of the thesis sets out to explain and describe the objective conditions which made educational reform inevitable. The Franco Regime attempted to bring about this reform making the minimum changes in both substance and process, both of which they attempted to retain in the same authoritarian, repressive form. The Regime's own inherent contradictions made it incapable of carrying out its own reform proposals.

Part I - Education in Franco's Spain.

Chapter One. Historical Introduction.

Introduction:

In this chapter a brief historical introduction is presented in order to fill in the necessary background, since this particular aspect, the social history of education, has not been dealt with in English publications. It is also presented as a means to promote an understanding of the specific nature of the tensions created around education. By means of a rapid account of political events throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, always in relation to education, it is intended to show that the liberal, progressive movements throughout these centuries were constantly trying to raise the cultural level of the population by means of educational reform, to which they

attached extraordinary importance, and in doing so, coming into direct conflict with the Church, which, supported by the traditional, conservative forces, kept a strong hold on the education system. It is also intended to show that the field of education, indeed, became a clear area for struggle between these two forces and frequently served as the spark which set off conflicts and struggles.

This historical review is, as a result, limited to events which can be seen, either as significant in the way in which they affected the education system, or which placed the conflict between two opposing education policies in the foreground of political struggle. This frequently developed into military coups carried out by both sides, until reaching the tragic Civil War of 1936. As can be seen in the Chronological Table (1), the 19th century was a scene of continual internal strife between the "two Spains", the conservative and the liberal, which continued on into the 20th century. In this review, taking for granted the general historical background, all emphasis is placed on events directly related to the theme of education.

In this way, it is intended to explain the reasons for the backwardness of Spanish education during this period, as compared to the rest of Europe, in spite of the evident interest which all progressive forces showed in educational

reform. In fact, with the exception of the brief period of the II Republic, during which real advances were made, progressive educational policies continued throughout these centuries to be a constantly frustrated aspiration. In the Second Part of this thesis, it will be shown that after the advent of Fascism as a result of the Republican defeat in the Civil War, the opposition to the Franco regime, continued to develop educational policy and draw up alternatives, even during a period of underground struggle. These progressive policies were capable of interesting and mobilizing teachers and parents under very difficult circumstances.

The secondary sources relating to this period have been greatly enriched since the advent of democracy and political freedom. Prior to this most studies, whether carried out by Spanish historians or by historians of different nationalities, were nearly always published abroad, if they adopted an impartial or progressive standpoint due to the severe censorship which existed, both of publications and within University research activities.

Notable exceptions of publications which appeared in Spain under the Franco regime and which played an important part in opening up lines of study in relation to education, and of breaking down the seemingly impenetrable barriers of forgetfulness of the past raised by that Regime, were "Medio

siglo de Cultura Española" by Manuel Tuñón de Lara, and "La Enseñanza en la II República" by Mariano Pérez Galán.

In English the works of Carr, Payne, Preston and Jackson published both during and after the dictatorship have greatly aided a more profound understanding of the period and, while not explicitly related to the field of education, obviously take into account the unusually central role accorded to this theme in the struggles between the "two Spains" up until the Civil War 1936 -1939.

It is, however, significant that most works when touching on the problem of education, place far greater emphasis on the University and the struggles which took place within and about it. While obviously such struggles achieved great public attention, it is the aim of this thesis to endeavour to bring out what was happening in the more universal areas of education and to show how a similar and even more desperate struggle was taking place. The University was an institution for the minority, and the primary and secondary school systems, while not reaching anything like the totality of the population, nevertheless affected the lives of a vastly larger number of citizens.

In this thesis, what is really being examined are the efforts and struggles to establish liberal, pedagogic ideas and practices in Spain, especially in relation to primary

and secondary education. This struggle around education was a constant element of all social and political conflict during the 19th and 20th centuries and reached a special degree of intensity with the II Republic and its tragic consequences of the Civil War. From the very start, Franco's Regime paid great attention to the school system and teachers' ideological attitudes, thus producing tremendous changes and purges within the profession. It is as a result of the Regime's educational policies and actions, that the precise circumstances of the decade of the sixties, leading up to the 1970 Education Act, which is the subject matter under study, once more made this constant struggle more acute and produced the teachers' movement which is studied in the Second Part of this thesis.

Education in the 19th Century:

Up until the middle of the 18th century, education in Spain was totally in the hands of the Church and was used by the Absolute Monarchy as an instrument of control and privilege. Indeed, attempts to reform the education system arising from the ideas inspired in the 18th century by the Age of Enlightenment, came into immediate conflict with the

powerful political Institution which the Church was. As a result, the conservative elements who opposed the revolutionary ideas of the Enlightenment, or any attempt to secularize public life, allied themselves to the Church and, in the case of education, upheld its dominant position in this field. On the other hand, for the liberal, progressive forces, secular education organized by the State and freedom from this dominance became a constant aspiration and banner. As a result all processes of reform, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries have involved opposition to the Church.

Because of the excessively privileged nature of education and the dearth of provision for the popular classes, producing a cultural backwardness as compared to the rest of Europe, the provision of a more just system of education became a veritable obsession of the liberal movements in Spain. It is significant that in 1812, when the liberal forces drew up a Constitution containing 10 articles, one article was entirely devoted to the subject. A Junta, commission, was created to carry out an education programme which had been drawn up as a result of the Quintana Report (Cadiz 1813) (2) which presented an argued case for the establishment of a universal system of primary education, a secondary education conceived mainly, though not exclusively, as a preparation for University, but nevertheless intended for the majority and finally a more

restricted third level for which it was considered 9 Universities would be sufficient, instead of the 11 in existence.

However the liberal revolution was ended in 1823, by the invasion of the "100 sons of San Luis" sent by the monarchs of the Holy Alliance in order to interrupt this dangerous experience, and once more , through the Plan Calomarde, 1824, (3) the Church was restored to its position of privilege and given full control of all education, both public and private. During this period of repression, a real reign of terror which lasted until 1833, a primary school teacher Cayetano Ripoll, was executed for expressing his heretical ideas in the school.(4)

From 1834 to 1840 although the liberals were in power, the first of the Carlist wars took place, which limited social progress. An educator who had been in exile in England, Pablo Montesinos, returned and set to work to introduce reforms in the education system. He introduced Teacher Training Colleges for primary teachers and the regulation of primary education. He created the first infant school in Spain in 1838. The "Cortes" introduced the idea of compulsory education from the age of 6 and the necessity of providing primary teachers all over the country. A Teacher Training College was set up in every province. One of the

most significant political measures of this period was the suppression of several religious orders and the "desamortización" or selling off of the Church property made available by this suppression.

In 1840 the conservatives came to power and stayed in government in spite of many upheavals, until 1854. A new plan for Education, the Plan Pidal, referring only to secondary and higher education, based on the French model was introduced in 1845.(5) Its main characteristic was centralization and an extreme control of secondary and University education. An Office of Public Instruction was created which controlled every detail. Meanwhile primary education endured every privation and the State did not assume a real responsibility for this level. Illiteracy figures reached 80% of the population.(6)

In 1851 a Concordate was signed with the Vatican.(7) The Church, which had suffered the defeat of the "desamortización", achieved the compensation of being returned to a position of privilege and control in education. The Concordate established the confessional nature of the State and of its education, both public and private. In spite of liberal interludes during the rest of the century and up to the II Republic, the Church never lost its control and influence over education which were thus

established.

The extreme centralism quickly began to disintegrate and Bishops, Civil Governors and other local authorities took a hand in the directing of schools. Constant and overlapping legislation referring to education was promulgated, thus creating a confused situation. In an attempt to bring some order into this confusion, the conservative Minister, Claudio Moyano, promulgated an Education Bill, "Ley de Instrucción Pública" in 1857.(8) Although this initiative originally belonged to the liberals, it was the conservative government which put it into effect. The Bill was respectful to the Concordate, left primary education as a dead end, and the schools continued to be financed by the municipalities, i.e. condemned to absolute misery. There were ten different levels of salaries for primary teachers, according to the size of the town or village in which the school was situated, although in practice obtaining their salary at all from the "Ayuntamientos", Municipal Councils, was a real problem. At this time, only 39% of the population attended primary school. Secondary and university education was designed to train the ruling elite. The Church was permitted to open all types of schools and their teaching staff was exempt from holding the required university degrees for the secondary levels of education. This Act was to be in force for over a 100 years. Not until 1970 was a

new Bill introduced.

Only one "Instituto de Bachillerato", state secondary school, was permitted in each province, except Madrid which had two, and all of them were in the capitals. In these schools official text books were obligatory. The Church was permitted total access in order to guarantee the correct moral and religious teaching. Private schools, in general run by religious orders, were also permitted.

From the beginning liberal University and Secondary School professors reacted against the restrictive elements of the Act. In 1865 the expulsion of a professor provoked student agitation and severe repression in which 12 people were killed and a hundred wounded. (9) There was an active campaign against the conservative government and Queen Isabel II, who in an effort to stem the protest, proposed documents of adhesion to be signed by public authorities. One such document was presented to the University professors and 57 refused to sign at first, although subsequently the group of dissidents was reduced to 35. This confrontation produced the expulsion of three professors from their Chairs, which was inevitably followed by further expulsions. All this took place during the final disintegration of the Monarchy and conservative government, which ended with a liberal military intervention and the departure of Isabel II

from Spain in 1868.

With the '68 Revolution and the Liberals in power, all the professors were returned to their Chairs and a new educational reform instituted. The emphasis was on freedom of opinion and freedom to create schools and run them. The final objective being the disappearance of the public system which would be replaced by private competition. However these freedoms did not change the structure of the country, in which the nobility possessed 51% of the land. The progressive bourgeoisie believed that it could reorganize society based on new values. This revolutionary period lasted until 1874 and obviously, by its very nature, gave prominence to pedagogic ideas and theories. There were a minority of educated reformers who were thus attempting to change society. In 1871 the first secondary vocational school was founded and in the same year the Association for the Education of Women.

When this liberal period, and the I Republic ended with the Restoration of the Monarchy and a conservative Government, once again restrictions were placed on the freedom of teachers to express their opinions and religious orthodoxy was made obligatory. This caused, once again, the expulsion of professors from their Chairs, exiles and even imprisonment. The group of professors who suffered this

repression represented the most distinguished intellectual elements of the Universities of the time.

From this group of exiled professors, who were not permitted to return to their Chairs until 1881, emerged the idea of creating a private institution as a vehicle for their ideas of pedagogic reform. This Institution, "Institución Libre de Enseñanza" (10) which commenced in 1876, was destined to have considerable influence in the shaping of liberal educational ideas for the rest of the century and right up to and during the II Republic.(11)

From the start, this private institution was dedicated to "the educational mission on a national scale, with the precise objective, of undeniable historical importance, of forming teams, the elite, the leaders of the nation." (12) As this quotation shows, underlying its progressive ideas, was a definitely elitist approach. At first it carried out its activities at university level, but as soon as its creators were permitted to return to the university and achieved a minimum sphere of influence in the State, its activities became more diverse. One of its initiatives was to create the "Instituto-Escuela", an experimental school which they intended to serve as an example to the public sector. It was an attempt to develop the idea of unity in the different levels of education. The school achieved great

pedagogic success and prestige.

In 1882 the Pedagogic Museum was created by them and in that year the first Pedagogic Congress was held. The "Institutionalists" were in touch with the modern pedagogic movement of the New School and attended the International Conference of Education held in London in 1884. They opened the way to an active education and opposed the traditional learning by rote type of education prevalent in the schools. The aim of education was defined in 1880 by one of the leading "institutionalists", Giner de los Rios, as "We are going to redeem our nation and return it to its destiny."⁽¹³⁾ Through education they intended to regenerate the country. Through the efforts of another institutionalist, Manuel Bartolomé Cossio, the first Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts was created. In 1901 the State for the first time assumed the responsibility of paying primary teachers' salaries.⁽¹⁴⁾

The new Ministry promulgated a large quantity of legislation. Between 1898 and 1923, for example, the curriculum for Teacher Training Colleges was changed 7 times.

In 1884 the "Institución Libre de Enseñanza" carried out a survey of the current educational situation which showed a

desolate picture of the neglect and insufficiency suffered by primary education. The following dramatic statistics on illiteracy give an indication of the situation at the turn of the century:

Table 1.

Year	Inhabitants	Illiterates	%
1860	15,673,481	11,837,391	75.52
1877	16,634,345	11,978,168	72.01
1887	17,565,632	11,945,871	68.01
1900	18,618,086	11,874,890	63.78
1910	19,995,686	11,867.455	59.35

(15)

From the working class itself, through its organizations, some attempts to combat the educational deficiencies were carried out. In 1901 Francisco Ferrer, an anarchist, created a series of schools for working class children, called the "Escuela Moderna", (16) a rational, lay school, including such elements as coeducation,, the notion of freedom for the child, a lack of discipline and use of play

as a pedagogic resource. These schools spread through Cataluña, where the anarchists were numerous, and lasted until 1909 when their founder was executed as the instigator of an anarchist inspired attempt to assassinate Alfonso XII on his wedding day in which various soldiers were killed. His execution raised great controversy, as he was believed to have been innocent and received international renown. He died crying out "Viva la Escuela Moderna", Long live the Modern School.

The Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) (PSOE) was founded in Madrid in 1879 and its founding Manifesto Programme stated, with regard to education: "It should be one for all persons of either sex, in all degrees of science, of industry and of the arts, so that intellectual inequalities, in the main fictitious, should disappear and so that the destructive effects which the division of labour produces in workers' intelligence may never be reproduced." The socialists developed the project of the "Escuela Unificada" and wished for the state system to be reformed and perfected, so making private schools unnecessary.

The liberals who had favoured total freedom for the creation of schools and private initiative at the end of the preceding century, came to realize in the 20th century that

such a situation would always be taken advantage of by the Church, already in such a position of power in education. Finally they began to coincide with the socialists in supporting the public sector.

In 1910 Nuñez de Arenas, a socialist, founded the "Escuela Nueva", New School, (17) as an instrument of instruction for "all the class which works and suffers". It represented two aims, to offer access to culture to the exploited classes, in a manner totally devoid of any paternalism, and to bring intellectuals and professionals into contact with the workers and enable them to contribute with their professional knowledge. In time the institution became more politically orientated and requested participation in the Socialist Party's Congress. It was also instrumental in offering intellectuals, both Spanish and foreign, a platform from which to express their ideas. In 1918 the "Escuela Nueva" drew up a document "Bases para un programa de Instrucción Pública", Basis for an Education Programme, (18) which was presented to the Congress of the Socialist Party and became the official programme of the party. It proposed the "escuela unificada" which should begin with infant schools, then a primary school till 14 and two types of secondary school. It was to be free at all levels.

The loss of the Spanish colonies, Cuba and the Phillipines,

to the United States in 1898, created a sense of national disaster and frustration, especially among the intellectuals and represented a breaking point, in ideas and aspirations, with all that the Restoration of the Old Regime signified. It also meant a return of many members of the religious orders who had been occupied in the colonies and who from then on devoted their activities to teaching in the religious schools of Spain. These grew in number in the early part of the 20th century. (19) A Pontifical University was created in 1904. In an attempt to introduce their influence in the public centre also, an educationist, Father Poveda, (20) created the Theresian Institution in 1924. Its aim was to produce competent Catholic teachers who could enter the state schools. Its model was the "Institución Libre de Enseñanza", although its content was diametrically opposed. The "Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas", (ACN de P), National Catholic Association of Propagandists, was created as an association intended to promote a Catholic elite. This Association created in turn a Catholic organization for students, and the "Asociación de Padres de Familia", a parents' association.

During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, 1923 to 1930, the Church continued to advance its positions in education. Two Catholic Universities were recognised, Deusto of the

Jesuits and Escorial of the Augustinians. The number of university students greatly increased and on the campus the conflict between the traditional ideas and what were considered by the progressive or liberal groups as the needs of modern Spain, soon clashed. The students became more radical in their ideas and founded the "Federación Universitaria Escolar" (FUE) in 1927. From 1928 on there were student riots protesting against the removal of professors from their Chairs and in protest against the recognition of the Catholic Universities. The Dictator reacted with brutal repression and closed the University of Madrid. Many professors, in solidarity with the students abandoned their Chairs. As a result of these actions the students' movement became openly political and in favour of the republic.

With the peaceful establishing of the Republic in 1931, it can be said that an attempt to carry out the belated bourgeois revolution for so long postulated by the liberals was augmented by the presence of the representatives of the workers movement which, throughout the struggles since the beginning of the century, had gained in strength and influence, in a joint project. This for education meant that ideas such as, freedom of opinion for both teachers and students, of belief, the right to bilingual education for the national minorities would be joined to the demand for

the meeting of social necessities.

The task facing the Republican government was enormous. In 1931, 32.4% of the population was illiterate,⁽²¹⁾ and in the Ministry they did not even possess reliable statistics as to the number and conditions of the schools in existence. When an urgent survey was carried out it became clear that in order to cover the needs of the school age population it would be necessary to create 27,151 schools immediately. This figure did not take into account future necessities. Obviously neither the economy, nor the availability of teachers were such as to make this possible. However the Government drew up a plan to create 7,000 schools in 1931 and 5,000 in each subsequent year. The primary teachers, who still had 10 different categories and salaries, also received substantial rises in salary in the three lowest levels. Teachers responded with great enthusiasm to the Republic's plans. In secondary education the curriculum was revised, to avoid early specialization and the necessity for fully qualified teachers was imposed in all the private sector.

The first Minister, Marcelino Domingo, of the Radical-Socialist Party, who had immediately made effective the "Consejo de Instrucción Pública", a consultive organism composed of representatives of all the different levels of education, proposed to the "Consejo" the drafting

of an Education Bill whose aim should be to introduce the "escuela única", one school, in Spain. The "Consejo" should consult all organisms and entities connected with education and present its findings by September, 31st. The Socialists, a very influential minority in Parliament, also defended the lay, free, unified school and proposed that schools should be created and maintained exclusively by the State. They suggested that as many private schools as possible should enter into the public system. Naturally this brought them into immediate conflict with the Church.

In the Constitution , which produced great confrontation in Parliament, articles subjecting the religious organizations to control by the administration and prohibiting them to carry out various activities, among them teaching, were passed. All of these questions were to be dealt with in a subsequent Special Bill. It was also declared that the State had no official religion and that education should be lay, free and compulsory. The organization of the education system was also decentralized. The Church's right to teach religion in its own establishments was recognised. The Constitution was passed in December 1931.

The Constitution gave rise to an articulated opposition from the right, dominated by the powerful landowners, who presented themselves as defenders of the Church and of

national unity, although the threat of agrarian reform was what most worried them. The industrialists were so afraid of the growing strength and militancy of the workers that they too regarded the Republic as their enemy and were incapable of using the parliamentary system as an instrument to bring about the modernization of the country.

During the first period of the Republic, 1931 to 1934, there was constant labour and agricultural agitation which placed the Government between two fires. However the Government paid great attention to education, as the notion of regenerating the country through pedagogic means was dominant and earned it the name of the "pedagogic republic". The large scale building of schools and the gradual unification of primary teachers' salaries, combined with a new and greatly improved plan of studies for future teachers helped to improve the situation. During this period there was a constant effort on the part of the government to heighten the status and prestige of teachers.

In these years the Government devoted 5,69%, 5.92%, 6.57% and 7.08% of the Budget to Education. In the two years of Government by the right, 1935 and 36, this percentage was lowered to 6,60 and 6,54. In all, during the whole republican period, 16,155 new teachers were employed, 12,862 new schools were built and 52,9% of the school age

population was at school.(22) This was no mean achievement, given the economic conditions of the country and the situation produced by total neglect of education from which they started.

Another original initiative of the Republic were the "Misiones Pedagógicas", that is travelling exhibitions and cultural activities intended to bring culture to the peasant masses. Obviously they were imbued with the spirit of regeneration through education and contrasted greatly with the miserable subsistence level and ignorance of rural life. However they did serve as a method to convince the Government of the necessity to overcome this terrible backwardness in which a large part of the country's population was immersed. (23)

Once the Civil War started, obviously the building programmes and formation of new teachers was halted, but in the Republican zone the obsession with education continued, under a Communist Minister. The front was also a school and many "milicianos" learnt to read and write there.

However, in the National zone, as areas captured by the rebel military rising were called, the Government in Burgos immediately began its work. Its attitude to education was a reflection of the fascist ideas inherent in the Single

Party, the Falange and to the influence gained by the Church through its active support of Franco. The first Minister of Education under Franco, however, was a monarchist, Sainz Rodriguez Rodriguez, who was subsequently removed from his University Chair and obliged to leave the country. Immediately legislation was passed in September 1936 suppressing coeducation, lay education, use of national languages in schools and introducing the teaching of Catholic and patriotic ideals. Formative courses for teachers in these ideals were also set up.(24)

In 1938 the secondary education curriculum was reformed. The preamble to the law (25) indicated that this was the quickest and most efficient method to change society and form a new ruling elite. In effect the content of this reform of secondary education set the tone of what was to follow in the matter of the Regime's educational policy. "Its (Secondary Education Bill Sept. 1938) most general sense was to achieve the ideological immersion of youth in the new National-Catholic principles aimed at getting us back to being "authentically Spanish", and so eliminating the influence on future generations of the ideological germs which liberal-democratic movements and the labour movement had imprinted on the Republic's school system." (26)

In November 1936 a decree ordering the purge of teachers who

were in opposition to the traditional, National-Catholic ideals of the new Regime was issued and purge commissions at provincial and national level created. Thus began a terrible repression which continued on into the post civil war period and which struck with peculiar violence against teachers. According to the "Boletín Oficial del Estado" (BOE), Official State Bulletin, up to January 1938, 2,198 teachers had been sanctioned by the Commission. However this figure does not cover all the teachers involved, as a previous publication of the BOE in 1937 referring to primary teachers, stated that as the work of the Commission had affected more than 50,000 primary teachers, the publication of each case would create a problem of space. Another draft order which was never published in the BOE gave the following figures of purged teachers in 1938: Primary 58,802, Secondary 1,339, University 1,101, Special Education and various 2,978 which gave a total of 58,220. After the war the purging continued with great vigour especially in the beginning of the decade of the forties. Up till the year 1969 there were still 169 cases being examined. (27)

An interesting study based on one province, Burgos (28) provides the following data on the repression which took place there actually during the civil war, not taking into account the post war period: of a total of 1,156 primary teachers in Burgos in 1934, 440 were proposed for sanctions

by the local purge commission, of which 302 were confirmed by the National purge commission, 19 were made more severe and 119 were annulled. These sanctions ranged from small fines to expulsion and permanent disqualification as a teacher. Apart from these, 79 teachers were arrested, 54 were imprisoned, 21 executed and 10 disappeared. A further 18 teachers were considered by the authorities to have escaped.

In 1938, Pemartin, responsible in the Ministry for Secondary Education, stated that 75% of state teachers were traitors. According to other studies it is considered that the purge reached approximately 80% of the primary teachers who numbered 50,527 in 1935.(29)

In 1939 Ibañez Martin, an integral National-Catholic, became Minister and continued in this post until 1951. He continued the purges with enthusiasm and set about ensuring absolute allegiance to the "Caudillo", (Franco), to the ideas of Falange, to National-Catholicism and to a patriotic vision of Imperialist, traditional Spain, firstly among teachers who should transmit these loyalties to their pupils. Every classroom was presided over by a crucifix and a portrait of Franco. Two new subjects were introduced into the curriculum, Political Formation for the boys and Home Studies for the girls. Both these subjects and a

differentiated P.E. for each sex, could only be taught by Members of the Movement, the Feminine Section in the case of the girls. They were not qualified teachers, simply members of Falange. The teaching of religion was obligatory. It can be said that in the state schools the attempts at political indoctrination were strongest, whereas in the private sector, nearly all in the hands of religious orders, greater emphasis was placed on religious formation.

In official statements the "Institución Libre de Enseñanza" was referred to as having been a particularly potent influence for the bad which had to be combatted and its pernicious ideas eradicated from all educational practice. Tolerance, one of the key factors of the "institutionalists" was regarded as a sign of weakness. The model for the "new education" was to be medieval, based on a recognition of original sin and the necessity to correct children's natural propensity for evil by strong discipline.

In the first years of the Regime there was considerable emphasis on the fascist display, with flags, marches, hymns of the National Movement and fascist salutes. The children were constantly reminded of the "liberation" of Spain by Franco. The names of the State Schools were changed, as were the street names, to be called after significant members of

the Fascist Movement.

In 1945 a new Primary Education Bill was introduced. The primary schools were placed under the control of the Parish priest and the local Falange chiefs, the new subjects were introduced, and the cycle, unrelated to the other levels lasted from 6 to 12 years. Nothing was done to improve the miserable conditions of rural schools and in general this cycle was seen as a vehicle of minimum instruction for working class and peasant children. In 1949, the Falange Minister of Labour introduced a Bill of Vocational Education, which was never really put into effect in any significant way.

From 1943 on, when it became clear that the Nazis were not going to win the war, Franco began to remove himself from their influence. The outward trappings of Fascism, while they continued, became less important. The really important significance was to maintain the dominant class, the large land owners, in absolute power, and control the people by means of a total lack of liberties and repression. Due to the isolation of Spain, just emerging from the destruction of the Civil War, with the rest of Europe involved in the II World War, an economic model of autarky, attempting to make Spain self sufficient, based on the Italian and German Fascist doctrines, was what Franco tried to put into

practice. This was logical until the World War ended, but Franco maintained it and his own status as Dictator. Not until the decade of the fifties did the industrialists, naturally allied through a communion of ideas and family links, intermarriages etc., begin to have any influence in the Regime.

The decade of the fifties brought about some change in the economic and political development of francoism. The Cold War and the war in Korea made it possible for the Dictator to enter into relationship with the rest of the world. In 1950 the United States granted a credit of 62.5 million dollars to Spain. In the same year Spain was admitted to the FAO. At the end of 1950 US Spanish diplomatic relations were resumed and in 1953 in exchange for American bases in the country, Spain received American aid which, while a good deal less generous than the Marshall Plan, nevertheless meant a great deal to an impoverished country in grave need of raw materials and equipment in order to develop industry. During the decade of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, important industrial development and economic growth took place which produced an exodus of the population from the country to the cities where the factories were growing up.

In 1951 there was a change in the Government and Ruiz-Gimenez, a Christian Democrat, was made Minister of

Education. This was interpreted as a certain degree of liberalization. He appointed two ex liberal falangists, who had developed more critical attitudes towards the Regime, as Rectors of the Universities of Madrid and Salamanca. He introduced a Bill on Secondary Education which tried to remove some of the more demagogic and fascist elements and brought in two external Ministerial examinations during the cycle.

In 1946, in the University of Madrid, there had been a timid attempt to reintroduce the FUE, the important student organization of pre Civil War days. This was swiftly cut short by severe repression. The Fascist student organization, the SEU, was the only legal organization permitted. However, 10 years after the attempt to revive the FUE, certain changes were coming into place. The students had not participated in the Civil War, the period of autarky had ended and in 1955 Spain was admitted to the UNO. From 1954 student agitation, echoing wide spread civic protests over the cost of living which took place in Barcelona, began in the University of Madrid. These were followed in 1956 by a letter, signed by thousands of students, being presented to the Minister Ruiz-Gimenez requesting a National Congress of Students for which delegates should be elected democratically. The letter was passed to the Secretary of Falange who did not reply. However the students then

boycotted the SEU official candidates in the elections for class delegates and prepared another list of candidates. The elections were suspended and the students held the first mass demonstration since the war. The Falange students entered into conflict with this movement and a Falange student was killed by a gun shot from his own ranks on the second day. Immediately repressive action followed with many arrests, the drawing up of black lists etc. Franco summarily dismissed his Minister of Education and the two rectors of Madrid and Salamanca who had all shown a too tolerant attitude to the students. Among the arrested students were clandestine Communists and Socialists, ex falange liberals and very moderate protestors. Significantly many of the students were the sons of prominent pro Franco families.

To replace Ruiz-Gimenez, a Falangist technocrat was found, Jesus Rubio. The student movement continued its activities, in spite of severe repression, its ranks being increased by the incorporation of progressive Catholics. The Movement developed structures of a flexible nature and began increasingly to reflect the workers' struggles which were spreading in all the industrialized areas from this period on. Protest against the constant repression which the workers' movements suffered was another stimulus to student agitation. The Fascist SEU continued to struggle against this progressive movement until the early sixties, when it

virtually ceased to have any real influence.

Rubio was a somewhat unremarkable Minister. He introduced a new curriculum for Secondary Schools which tried to shorten the programme and number of subjects taught. His most important contribution was a Bill on Higher Technical Education which opened up the Engineering Schools by making access, hitherto restricted to an elite by a very limiting examination, equivalent to University entrance.

As Minister of Education, Rubio was succeeded by Lora Tamayo in 1962 as part of a general ministerial crisis. He was a professor linked to the "Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas", CSIC, (Superior Council of Scientific Research) and to the Opus Dei. One of his first actions as Minister of Education and Science, as the Ministry was then renamed, was to authorize the private Opus University of Navarra to issue degrees. His period as Minister, during which little important legislation was promulgated, was characterized by a constant attempt to crush the ever increasing student movement which was gaining in strength, numbers and combativity.

In 1968 in response to the growing conflict in all the Universities, a new technocratic Minister, Villar Palesi, member of the Opus Dei, was appointed. This appointment

underlined the fact that the Falange had lost all hold on the University. Vilar Palasi immediately embarked on the most ambitious Education Bill since the "Ley Moyano", Moyano's Education Act of 1857, which will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters.

To sum up, we may say that in the period following the Civil War up until the decade of the fifties, the school system remained in a very deteriorated state. No building plan had been carried out, not even to compensate war damage, great repression had been exercised causing the separation of a vast number of teachers from their posts and the ideology of the Regime was imposed in both private and public schools. Public schools were severely controlled politically and greatly suffered from a total lack of means, especially in the primary sector, which was regarded as a school for "the poor". Private schools, mainly run by religious orders looked after the education of the middle and upper classes. In the years 1950-51, 76% of primary pupils attended state schools and 24% private schools; in secondary education 17% of the pupils attended state schools, 61.5% attended private schools, while 22% were what was known as "free pupils" that is either studying on their own, in schools which were not recognised by the Ministry or with the local primary teacher in villages. (30) The State gave little importance to its education system and relied largely on the religious orders

to fill in its deficiencies. In the following decade of the sixties, small improvements were made and school building commenced as the social demand grew, but however the general attitude on the part of the Regime did not show much change.

Conclusion

As this brief vision of what happened in education during the 19th and 20th centuries will have shown, the dominant force in education has been the most conservative elements of society, allied with the established Church. This inevitably caused a gross neglect of primary education, a predominance of private secondary education and an elitist University. However, as the opposing liberal and progressive forces constantly used education as a banner, especially due to their belief in education and an increase in the general cultural level of the population, as an efficient means of regenerating society, there was considerable social and political tension, at all times, revolving around the educational scene. The one real period of advance, the 11 Republic, was enthusiastically supported by teachers and, consequently, the severe fascist repression which followed the Republic's defeat, caused terrible repercussions in the profession. The very emphasis laid on education by progressive forces, made the repression all the stronger and the initial remodelling of the school system along fascist

lines all the more restrictive.

In this chapter an explanation has been given of how, in the case of Spain in the middle of the 20th century, the school system was exceptionally backward in comparison with the majority of its European neighbours, and totally unfitted to prepare its population for the tremendous leap from an impoverished autarkic economic state, to an attempt at entering into the competitive world of modern capitalism in Western Europe.

Notes.

1. See Appendix C.
2. Ministerio de Educación, Historia de la Educación, Vol. I, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones M.E.C., 1979. Page 377.
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3. Ibid. Vol.2. Page 61. Text of document.
4. Perez Galan, La Enseñanza de la II República, Madrid, Cuadernos para el Dialogo, 1975. Page 12
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5. Ministerio de Educación, Historia de la Educación, Vol. 2, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones M.E.C., 1979. Page 191.
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6. Perez Galán. Op. Cit. Page 25.
7. Ministerio de Educación, Historia de la Educación, Vol. 2, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones M.E.C., 1979. Page 240.
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8. Ibid. Page 244. Text of document.
9. This occasion is known as the "Night of San Daniel"
10. Jimenez Landi, "La Institución Libre de Enseñanza", Madrid, Taurus, 1973. Page 703 -709.
11. There is an extensive bibliography devoted to the "Institución Libre de Enseñanza" and its influence

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17. Tuñón, Op. cit. Page 160 - 178.
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19. Perez Galán, Op. cit. Page 31.
20. Galina, Padre Poveda: Itinerario Pedagógico, Madrid, 1965.
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23. Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas, Memoria, Madrid, Sec. y Servicios del Patronato, Madrid 1935.
24. Alted, Política del Nuevo Estado sobre el Patrimonio cultural y la educación durante la Guerra Civil, Madrid, Min. Cultura, 1984. Pages 181-182, text page 371-372.
25. Ibid. Page 189.
26. Cámara Villa, Nacional Catolicismo y Escuela. La Socialización Política del Franquismo (1936-1939), Madrid, Ed. Hesperia, 1984.

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Part One. Education in Franco's Spain.

Chapter Two. Economic and Industrial Growth forces Educational Reform.

Introduction:

In this chapter the exceptional situation of Spain, within the European context, as a country, devastated by its own Civil War ("our war" as it was commonly referred to in the fifties in conversational terms), neutral during the II World War, though with a sympathetic attitude towards the III Reich, and in an extremely backward situation with regard to economic growth, social provision, cultural levels of the population and general standard of living, is emphasised. Furthermore, the chapter intends to underline the fact that the relatively brusque change from a backward, autarkic, predominantly agricultural economy into the

initiation of a more modern industrialized society, with all the social upheaval which such a change implies, took place within the narrow limitations of a fascist police state. In order to understand the nature of Spain's education system, from the end of the Civil War right up until the end of the sixties, it is necessary to take the above facts into account.

In this chapter, through an analysis of the way in which the change took place, through the migration of workers, growth of cities in the traditionally industrialized areas and the development of new industrialized areas, together with an examination of the educational level of these workers newly incorporated into industry, it is intended to demonstrate the very insignificant role which the education system played in this process. The causes, this thesis maintains, are to be found in the inadequacy of the schools themselves, the traditional attitude of the right which regarded the spread of popular education as a potentially dangerous and subversive activity, as the II Republic had amply proved in their view, and the total lack of political freedom which tried to eliminate and suppress any protest or demand for social justice. These factors, it is maintained, explain the myopic attitude of the Franco Regime in general, to the need for education if an efficient work force were to be created. The dominant classes which the Regime represented were

notoriously irresponsible with regard to social needs, protected from popular protest by a police state and satisfied with the vast profits which industrial development of the Spanish type was providing them with. An awareness of the limitations of this process, however, caused some members of the Regime to see the need for Reform, while the growth of popular protest and organised struggle on the part of the opposition, slowly emerged under these difficult circumstances and developed alternative proposals.

Given the manner in which industrial growth took place and the necessary labour force was recruited, this thesis maintains that the economic boom counted very little on the regular school system for preparing the supply of qualified workers which were to be needed during the decade of the sixties. When the migratory and occupational changes are studied in connection with the cultural levels of the working population according to the normal indicators of school qualifications and degrees of literacy, it can be demonstrated that the transformation of unskilled, agricultural workers into qualified industrial workers took place mainly on the shop floor. Furthermore, an examination of the situation of schools, numbers of pupils and the greater or lesser attention paid to vocational training, it is maintained, corroborates the relative unimportance of the education system as it stood, in the important social and

economic transformation which took place at the time.

In this chapter, the exceptional period of economic growth and its political context will be studied and its causes analysed. Then the limited nature of the role of the education system in this growth process, workers' cultural level and educational statistics providing the evidence, will be examined and the increase in numbers of skilled workers, explained as largely an on the job process. Subsequently Government reaction to economic growth and the initiation of planning as a result of exterior advice from international organizations will be shown, as well as the implications this had for education and in particular, for vocational training.

Economic Growth

The decade of the sixties represented a period of great economic growth in Spain. The income per capita increased by 3.5 and the working population's distribution suffered radical transformations. The agricultural sector which represented 41.7% of the total in 1960, was reduced to 29.1% by 1970. (1) The annual Gross National Product's growth between 1960 and 1968 was 8.6%. (2)

Since the end of the Civil War in 1939, the period of

autarky which lasted until 1959, meant in the decade of the forties, when such a policy was justified until the end of World War II because of Spain's total isolation, and up until 1956, when it was artificially maintained by Franco as a deliberate political option, that economic growth was considerably lower than in the rest of Europe. The per capita income increased very slowly and did not reach the level of 1929 until 1954. Investment figures were also the lowest in Europe, with the single exception of Portugal.

The agricultural sector was very unevenly structured, 39.1% of the land being in the hands of small peasant farmers, 52.8% owned by large landowners and the remaining 8.1% in medium sized farms.(3) In 1939, the "Servicio Nacional de Reforma Social de la Tierra", National Service of Social Land Reform, was created with the mission of returning all land which had been affected by the attempts at agrarian reform during the Republic, to their original owners.

Any effort to rationalize agricultural production and to convert it into the stepping stone for economic development failed. The lack of equipment, fertilizers and raw materials in the forties meant that agricultural production decreased in comparison with pre Civil war figures. In 1940, 51.8% of the working population was employed in agriculture and during that decade the migration of workers from this sector

was very slight, as there were no alternative opportunities available. The agricultural workers suffered constant under employment and a very miserable standard of living, at bare subsistence level. However, as industry was in an equally stagnant situation there was no motivation for change of occupation. Rationing of essential commodities was instituted and remained in force throughout the decade. This, in turn, produced a black market, "estraperlo", (4) which permitted certain social groups to grow rich at the expense of others' misery. Added to all of this, harvests were exceptionally bad during all this decade. This period is still referred to as the post war "years of hunger".

In the next decade, this situation began to change and in the fifties nearly a million subemployed workers left the land. About half of these emigrated to South America and the rest found employment in the timidly expanding industrial sector.

Spain's isolation began to break down as diplomatic relations were renewed with the United States and subsequently, American aid was received in return for accepting American bases on Spanish soil. During this decade there began to be noted a slowly increasing presence of tourists. The acquisition of foreign currency through the incipient tourist trade and American aid, enabled the

industrial sector to import equipment. Prices of agricultural products were controlled and an exceptionally good harvest in 1951 meant that rationing of bread could be removed in 1952. However, in spite of this, the industrial sector was incapable of competing in an exterior market and so the deficit in the commercial balance of payment became chronic and ever increasing.

As well as the small migration from the land during the fifties, the incorporation of women into the work force began a gradual ascent. In 1950, 12% of the total feminine population was at work, representing 16% of the total working population and these figures increased to 15% and 20% respectively, in 1960. (5) By the end of the decade, in 1960 the working population was distributed as follows:

Table 1.

Agrarian sector	41.7%
Industrial sector	31.8%
Services sector	26.5% (6)

The Opus Dei Government (7):

In 1959 the economic situation had reached breaking point. Before this, in 1957 there was a change of Government, showing that the dominant class was beginning to wake up from its autarkic lethargy and recognize the existence and possible relevancy of European capitalism. Members of Opus Dei, in favour of liberalizing the economy were given important ministerial posts. Prices were rising and increasing labour conflicts were also bringing up salaries in industry, all of which, added to the alarming deficit, combined to make this Government begin a process which was to culminate in 1959 with the "Plan de Estabilización", Stabilization Plan. The country needed foreign loans in order to overcome its near bankruptcy but the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund, while willing to help, imposed conditions. The new Opus Dei, technocratic Ministers, were more informed on modern capitalist methods. They proceeded to remove controls and liberalize the economy. The peseta was also devalued drastically to reach its market value and foreign investment was encouraged. The administration was reformed in an attempt to make it capable of drawing up a coherent economic policy. "The two main characteristics of the technocrats as a power group (were), first, they were a parvenu power elite. Second, their goal, at least the direction of their activities, was the rationalization of the administration so that it would serve as an instrument of capitalist economic growth." (8)

One of the main factors, surpassing the effects of the "Plan de Estabilización", which contributed greatly to making possible the so called "Spanish miracle" of economic growth, was the advent of tourism. In 1955, 2.5 million tourists visited Spain, in 1960, 6.1 millions and by the end of the decade, the figure had reached 24.1 millions (9) and went on increasing even more rapidly during the seventies. Spain became the second most important country in Europe for tourism. The foreign currency thus made available was of tremendous importance to economic growth.

Emigration and migration of workers:

Another important source of foreign currency was provided by the emigrant workers who, from 1959 on, began to flock to Europe instead of the traditional destination of South America, attracted by the better salaries and apparently unlimited offer of work. In this way unemployment was reduced and the emigrants' savings returning to the mother country helped to reduce the negative balance of payments and made it possible to import foreign technology. During the decade, the figures for foreign emigration rose from 40,189 in 1960 to 181,278 in 1965, which meant that between 1960 and 1966 the number of emigrants equalled 20% of the working population in agriculture and 12.5% of the

industrial and service workers (10). Although the figures declined for the rest of the decade, it is calculated that one million workers emigrated to Europe in all.

The section of the population which abandoned the rural areas (10% of the total population) flocked into the cities and traditional industrial areas, Barcelona, Euskadi, Madrid, etc. causing the abrupt, unplanned and chaotic growth of these industrialized cities. Thus an abundant labour force was made available at a relatively low cost, as in 1958 the salaries had still not reached the level of 1936 in constant pesetas. The conditions for creating an economic boom, albeit of a dependent economic nature, were set up.

Politically the Franco Regime continued to deny all political freedom; political parties and trade unions were banned and any activity attempting to restore such institutions or their functions was considered an offence against the State and severely punished.

The fact that the tremendous transformation took place with hardly any cultural support and almost no attempt to help the population to adjust to their new way of life, created and still creates enormous social problems. Added to this, the living conditions, lack of urban planning and the building of necessary services in new working class areas,

where only the imperatives of the most blatant speculation prevailed, all meant that the process of converting a rural population into an urban, industrialized work force was a brutal, cruel one.

Migratory and occupational changes:

The overall composition of the working population during the two decades which preceded the Educational Reform was as follows:

Table 2.

	1950	1960	1969
Agriculture	49,5%	41,7%	30.2%
Industry	25,6%	31.8%	36,9%
Services	24.9%	26.5%	32.9% (11)

In order to understand the real implications of the above figures it is necessary to analyse what each of these sectors represented in the terms of Spain during the 19 years referred to, as they do not correspond to what is normally understood by such sectors in the advanced capitalist world of Europe. Following the study made by Ignacio Fernandez de Castro, (12) his categories are quoted. He takes into account a precapitalist sector of the work

force which includes managers with no salaried workers,
independent workers and members of the family who help.
Referring just to the work force in 1950, he establishes:

Table 3

Salaried workers	7,187,700	
Craft workers	691,000	
Peasant workers	2,399,900	
Total work force	10,278,600	(13)

as opposed to 514,400 employers which apparently represents
a distribution of 70% capitalist work force and 30%
precapitalist. However on examining the reality of the
agrarian sector, most of it must be considered to belong to
the precapitalist sector as it refers to small farms
resulting from the confiscation of Church property in 1800.
Thus the following distribution emerges:

Table 4.

Capitalist sector:

Employers	167,200	1.5%
Salaried workers	4,593,400	42,6%
Total	4,760,600	44.1%

Agrarian sector of managers and large landowners:

Employers	347,200	3.2%
Salaried workers	2,594,300	24.1%

Peasant Farmers:

Work force.....	2,399,900	22.2%
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Craftsmen of non agrarian goods and services:

Work force	691,000	6.4% (14)
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From this analysis the distribution means that only 44.7% of the work force can be considered to be under really capitalist conditions, whereas 55.3% remain in precapitalist agrarian or craftsman conditions.

In the descent of the working population in agriculture during the 19 years referred to, peasant farmers maintained their position and the manager farmers and large landowners were the sectors which suffered the greatest loss.

Cultural level of the working population.

During the decade of the fifties, up to 1955, the average percentage of the total infant and juvenile population at

school represented 38.6%.(15).

In 1965 a study of the cultural level of the working population gave the following results:

Table 5.

5% were illiterate
90% had been to primary school
3% had been to secondary school
2% had been to university.

In the same year, 1965, the student population was distributed in the following manner:

Table 6.

25% had not finished primary studies
50% had finished primary studies
17% had finished secondary studies
8% had finished university studies.
(16)

In order to understand the type of work force that existed during the sixties, the decade of the so called economic "boom", it is necessary to examine the qualifications of the over 14 population, from which this working population was drawn.

Distribution of cultural level in over 14 population in
1969:

Table 7

Concept	Total Population		Working Population	
Degree.	253,300	1%	187,900	1.5%
Secondary Diploma.	898,200	3.7%	452,000	3.6%
Vocational training without Diploma.	1,036,700	4.2%	499,100	4%
No vocational training.	20,356,300	82.9%	10,756,300	87.0%
Illiterate	2,022,600	8.2%	486,200	3.9%
Totals	24,566,100	100%	12,363,500	100%

(17)

The deficiencies here demonstrated show that the school
system had almost completely failed to provide a skilled
labour force during all this period of industrial expansion.

The fact that 87% of the working population had no vocational training is sufficiently illustrative. Learning on the job was a costly process from the employer's point of view, especially when the low cultural level from which these workers in general had to start, is taken into account. 96.6% of agricultural workers, from which sector the migration was produced, were either illiterate (13.4%) or had not finished primary studies. (18) Low salaries, the legal prohibition of trade unions and a police force as a readily available instrument of repression for any labour unrest, helped palliate the cost, which of course, also included the low productivity rate which such a labour force implied. In this way approximately 3 million agricultural workers were transformed into unskilled workers of the other sectors. From the employer's point of view, the process took place with little or no contribution on his part. The school system had at most contributed with a few years of primary studies, which had not reached their end and so offered no certificate.

The participation of women in the work force, which grew from 8% of the total female population in 1940 to 17% in 1969, showed the following cultural levels:

Table 8

Primary education or less94%

Secondary education 2%
 Secondary vocational 2%
 Degree 2%

Specialist qualifications of woman workers in 1968:

Table 9

Qualification	Total %	Industry	Services
Degree or Voc.			
Diploma.	5	0.5	8.4
Administrative.	8	4.0	8.5
Specialized manual			
worker.	37	20.5	25.2
Unskilled.	49	75.0	57.9

The illiteracy rate, notably higher in women than in men,
 was 12% of the working female population.
 (19).

During the sixties, secondary school numbers increased:

Table 10

School Year 1960-61 School Year 1968-69.

Bach.

Elemental	394,629	54.8%*	1,005,619	62.1%
Bach.				
Superior	60,207	8.4%	166,891	10.3%
Preu.	19,221	2.7%	37,507	2.3%
F.P.				
Industrial	73,733	10.3%	146,625	9.1%

* % of total number of pupils, not of age group in the population.

(20)

The increase in numbers is important, although mainly directed to the "Bachillerato", secondary system, purely intended as a preparation for University entrance. Besides, it must be taken into account, that the various forms of "Formación Profesional", vocational training, lacked a real connection with industrial practice. As a result young workers found that their vocational qualifications were not taken into account and indeed, the skills acquired had little real application, so that they too were obliged to undergo a learning on the job process, although they undoubtedly started with the advantage of a higher cultural level. In 1969 the official White Paper expressed the following criticism: "The classical notions of trades and work categories are in crisis today. On the one hand, families of occupations have appeared; and on the other, the

strictly defined trade is losing importance in the face of a basic training accompanied by subsequent specialization. We lack, therefore, a whole graduation of capacities in accordance to specializations and levels of qualification."

(21) In fact, "(Vocational Schools) were unable to adapt their content to the (new) needs, as they adhered rigidly to the distribution of classical trades and curricula which were excessively out of touch with the jobs which their pupils were going to fill." (22) The vocational training that existed was "a training structured according to the old fashioned idea of opposing intellectual work to manual work, which no longer responds to objective reality nor to the needs of the productive system." (23) The percentage of young people in school at this age was still very low. Also it must be remembered that these figures refer to all pupils from 10 to 25 years of age and not all of them were future members of the working population.

Isolating the working population, the following Table shows the % of the population either at school, working, emigrated or in another situation, for the School year 1967-68:

Table 11.

Age	Secondary	Higher	Working	Other	Emig.
	Education	Education	Pop.	Sit.	abroad

10-14	31.0%	-	4.2%	64.8%	-
15-19	17.6%	1.8%	54.7%	25.2%	0.7%
20-24	4.8%	3.4%	66.6%	23.8%	1.4%
Over 24	0.8%	0.1%	48.7%	55.0%	0.6%

(24)

So the demands on the education system as such were considerable during this period, but in terms of its effect on the total population the influence is still small and represents a fairly insignificant contribution. Between the age of 15 and 19 years, 54.7% were already working, by which time they would at best have acquired a certificate of primary studies, or "Bachillerato Elemental", elementary secondary, but in their majority would not have completed either stages, while only 17.6% were still in secondary education and 1.8% in University. The total population of those years was:

Table 12.

	1950	1970
15-24	5,359,000	5,239,000
25 and over	15,270,000	19,170,000
15 and over	20,269,000	24,409,000

(25)

In the case of the incorporation of girls into secondary education, there was some advance made in the sixties:

Table 13.

Girls in secondary education in School year 1966-67

Education level	Total no. pupils.	% of girls
1st year secondary	244,887	44
4th year secondary	108,305	44
6th year secondary	44,661	33
Preu.	30,064	29
(26)		

It is noticeable that the presence of girls in the secondary school declines as the years advance. There was considerably less social pressure to keep girls in school until the end of the educational period and, in the case of having to sacrifice a son or a daughter for economic reasons, the daughter would always be the victim.

The population with secondary education completed went from 600,000 in 1950 to two million in 1970, that is to say, it went from 3% of the young adult population to 8,4% in twenty years. It is clear that "industrial expansion was carried out with certain independence of the development of

education." (27)

It is true that social pressure, the awareness of the importance of schooling in a society undergoing the process of modernization, albeit within a police state, was present, especially among the middle classes who could reasonably aspire to access to higher education for their children. This demand stretched the existing school system to the limit and is reflected in the increase in pupils in the secondary school. At the same time, the workers' and peasants' children who became part of the working population, representing to a large extent the 43.1% of workers without any vocational training, plus the 4% possessing vocational training but no diploma, plus the 3.9% of illiterates, show that the education system had done very little to prepare those young people for their entry into the work force. The education system " was in no way adapted to the training needs which the economic transformations which had taken place in the last few years demanded, we may almost say that such needs have surprised the education system, which has seen the number of students increase and which has received them in an anarchic manner." (28)

The situation of the workers who emigrated to Europe of the Common Market of the sixties were in a similar condition. The following description of their incorporation into the

work force is of interest: "But the most impressive aspect is the rapidity with which these uncultured peasants adapted to factory work. The firm Buderus reports that the length of initial training from four weeks to three months, depending, obviously, on the nature of the task, and the training for some posts such as polisher, moulder, smelter, etc. usually began after some experience and could require another three months. The training period in Ford-Werke lasted four to six weeks for welders and metal platers. Normally no distinction is made between national and immigrant workers, as long as the latter know the language. In this firm foreign workers have also been trained as locksmiths and electricians." (29)

The fact that this occupational transformation was possible without the back up of an organized educational programme reinforced a secular attitude of the conservative right, which had traditionally seen no necessity to educate the masses. Promotion of popular education had always been exclusively a matter which interested the left. This indifference to what, in a more general European context, would seem to be their own interests, on the part of the dominant capitalist class had few exceptions within the Regime and meant, when finally at the end of the decade of the sixties the necessity for educational reform became a popular demand which was reflected by certain elements within the Regime, that the process of reform was arduous

and carried out in the midst of constant internal opposition.

Curiously enough the provinces with the highest level of educational achievement do not always correspond to the most advanced industrialized areas which possessed the greatest development potential, rather their growth is slower. The traditional industrialized areas were: Euskadi, that is the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya; Madrid; Cataluña, that is the province of Barcelona, and Asturias, the province of Oviedo. This would suggest that the qualification obtained, University degree, was regarded much more as a credential which would enable its possessor to get a job, rather than as a real qualification for a particular activity.

"In the "Spain of the middle classes", the least "capitalist" in a strict sense, the development of education has been far in advance of the factory development." (30). This author divides the country into three types of areas:

- areas with an excess of education, that is greater educational than industrial development.

- areas with an educational deficit, that is a higher industrial development.

- Areas of great poverty and low educational and industrial development (for example: Andalucia with its large landowners and Galicia with its small peasant farmers.)

Obviously to use the term "excess" is a gross exaggeration and merely refers to the region's incapacity to absorb the population with higher qualifications, thus producing an internal migration to the more developed areas. However, it does indicate that the industrial development was of a dependent nature, not immediately requiring highly qualified personnel, so that the aims of University graduates were still centered on the traditional centralized bureaucracy and essentially on acquiring a credential. The "boom" was based on an accumulation of an unskilled labour force and the installation of productive activities, without tapping technical and organizational resources, or creating highly skilled specialists.

The 2% in 1950 and the 4% in 1970 of the population with University degrees, were located in two main areas: the centre and the north of the country, on the one hand, which supplied the centralized bureaucratic system, as well as permitting internal migration to the traditionally industrialized areas of the Basque country and Asturias and

the new growth of industry in Madrid, and, on the other, the east, referring to the industrialized area of Cataluña, the rich agricultural coast and hinterland, and the Balearic islands.

During this decade, the number of teachers grew. In the period following the Civil War, the number of state primary teachers between 1940 and 1946 grew from 51,053 to 53,170 (31), a significantly limited growth, if we take into account the repression and inevitable losses after a war. State primary teachers' salaries were, during this period and up to 1969, considerably less than Post office workers, Police and Prison employees, all equally civil servants. The salary was below subsistence level and a primary teacher had to look for other means in order to supplement this salary, such as private classes, etc.

In the State Secondary sector, the number of "Institutos" grew from 113 in 1939 to 119 in 1960, a very exiguous growth. Meanwhile, the number of private schools grew from 938 in 1949 to 1,067 schools in 1960, reaching 1,925 in 1971. By 1970 the total number of state secondary teachers, within the different categories, was 21,585, while the private sector represented 31,704, of whom 16,151 were graduates, 6,792 possessed some qualification and a further 8,192 were probably unqualified. (32). Again the salaries

were comparatively meagre, especially in the private sector.

As has been shown, in 1950, 57,3% of salaried workers had no vocational training, of whom 53.4% were workers and 3.7%, denominated "subalternos", subordinates, that is unqualified administrative or tertiary employees. The skilled workers represented 26,5%, qualified employees in the tertiary sector 9% and managers and specialists represented 7.2%, making up a total of 42.7%. (33)

Figures in unqualified workers show a continual line of decrease from 3,853,700 in 1950 to 2,960,500 in 1969, passing from 53.6% of the working population to 36.6% (34) but "We must take into account that (in 1950) the education system offered very few opportunities for vocational training; consequently, training qualification criteria, since they did not refer to an official diploma awarded by the education system, were very ambiguous". (35)

In the agrarian sector, the greater part of the migration during this period corresponded to the workers who left the large landowners and who had existed in semi feudal conditions. The conversion of these large farms into modern, efficient farms was a slow process, which is reflected in the following figures of the migratory process from the

agricultural sector:

Table 14.

	1950	1960	1969
Qualified			
worker	7.6%	4.7%	10.6%
Unqualified			
worker	92.4%	95.3%	89.4%

(36)

It can be seen that the great mass of migrant workers were the unqualified, salaried workers who left the country and their villages or "cortijos" (a type of feudal organization of dwelling places for the workers surrounding the landowner's large house, far removed from any village, forming a social unit on its own and depending on the landowner's will for any services that existed) and entered industry or the services as low paid, unskilled workers. In the fifties the number of qualified workers in agriculture descends because it was not until the following decade of the sixties, that the large landowners began to invest in their land, import farm machinery and modernize their form of production.

In spite of the poor conditions which employment in industry offered, the removal to the city was seen as an improvement,

providing greater opportunity for social and cultural advancement for the families, schooling opportunities for the children and a release from the total stagnation and poverty of rural life.

The increase in the work force in industry and the services which can be attributed to the entrance of migratory workers proceeding from the agricultural sector during this period of 19 years, can be calculated as 59.3% in industry and 40.7% in the services. Very few of these workers had any vocational training as, what little there was, was certainly not available in the rural areas.

Growth of unskilled workers in industry and the services:

Table 15.

	1950	1969
Industry	765,500	972,500
Services	957,200	1,192,000

(37)

In 1969, therefore, the total sum of unskilled workers was 2,164,500 and in this period the total number of migrant workers who had entered these sectors was 2,206,400.

Obviously all these migrant workers could not have been absorbed into these sectors, unless the unskilled jobs were

vacated by their original occupants, who achieved qualifications either on the job, in the vast majority of cases, or by participating in a vocational training programme. The study already referred to, shows that the immense majority of workers who made up the exodus from agriculture during those 19 years, went straight into the unskilled jobs in industry and the services and their arrival pushed the exsisting labour force upwards by means, in the main, of the skills they had acquired on the job.

This produced the formation of a group of workers who achieved a better salary and a higher standard of living and also began to acquire a greater class conciousness. It coincides with the emergence of a united workers' movement and the origen of the workers' commissions, "Comisiones Obreros": (CC.OO) (38), dates from this period. Up to 1967, workers had achieved various improvements such as the election of representatives, of course within the Single State Vertical Union, but "Comisiones Obreroa" presented its candidates quite openly, considering the Police State conditions that prevailed; the signing of global agreements on salary and work conditions, both at factory and provincial level and a small increase in social services.

From 1960 on, the growth in industry by far exceeded the growth in services in relation to the skilled work force:

1,369,000 skilled, industrial workers, as opposed to 572,000 skilled workers in the services.

The following figures show that in the decade of the fifties, labour force growth in both sectors was obtained by direct migratory movements from the agricultural sector to these sectors:

Table 16.

Period 1950-1960:

Losses	Skilled	Unskilled	Total
Agriculture	105,600	532,000	637,600
Gains			
Industry	328,600	242,700	571,300
Services	33,300	9,900	43,200

Period 1960-1969:

Differences	Skilled	Unskilled	Total
Agriculture	+ 13,600	-1,122,900	-1,109,300

Industry	+801,400	- 58,300	+ 643,100
Services	+382,400	+ 104,000	+ 486,400
(39)			

During these decades there was also taking place emigration to the advanced capitalist countries of the Common Market:

Table 17.

Interior and Exterior from all the Agrarian Sector:

Period	Interior	Exterior	Total
1950-60	857,600	347,300	1,204,900
1960-69	1,424,500	467,900	1,912,400
1950-69	2,282,100	835,200	3,117,300
(40)			

These figures show the extent of the exodus, for to the three million workers who emigrated, must be added their dependent families who represented 375,900 in the exterior emigration and 3,862,300 in the interior migration, which brings it up to a total of 7,355,500 persons who left the

rural areas. (41)

Development of skilled workers:

Labour force growth in industry and the services in the decade of the sixties meant that the developing of skilled workers was the most important factor, as the capitalist industrial sector realized the need for rationalizing their factories and increasing their productivity. Therefore the migration from the agricultural sectors was used to fill the unskilled places left vacant by former workers who raised their qualifications through their acquisition of skills on the job or vocational training. This acquisition of skills was much more marked in the sixties than in the fifties, and greater in industry than in the services. In industry 61.1%, that is about a million workers, passed from being unskilled workers; they represented only 29,2% in the services sector.(42)

The determination of categories continued to be ambiguous as extensive training programmes and diplomas, etc., did not exist. The State Vertical Union established different categories of workers, "Profesional de primera, segundo, etc.", first, second class worker, in the different trades and established their corresponding wages and conditions in the "Convenios Colectivos", Collective Wage Agreements, and

"Ordenanzas Laborales", Labour reglamentation according to trades. However the designation of categories and systems of promotion were arbitrary and depended on the decisions of Management and foremen, based on their own requirements obviously and on the years of experience and the type of job performed by the worker.

Since during the decade of the sixties, the reduction of unskilled workers is linked to the exodus from the country of, in their vast majority, an unskilled work force, only a fifth of which is absorbed by emigration to Europe, while, at the same time, the increase in skilled workers in industry especially, is notably much greater, it would appear that "from 1960 onwards a factor which is qualitatively new appeared in the process of capitalization and that this factor principally affected the industrial sector and, in a more backward and less important manner, the services. This factor is fundamentally different from the acceleration of the primitive accumulation - related to the migration from precapitalist sectors to capitalist sectors - and in itself represents an increased reproduction of variable capital in the circulatory cycle; increased reproduction of the capitalist work force." (43).

Employers attitude to education.

In reality, the representatives of capital, having achieved their expansion without being obliged to devote an important part of their profits to work force qualification, and who had, in general, a totally irresponsible attitude to society, based on their most immediate self-interest and who could treat any attempt at workers' organization or defence of their interests as a subversive activity which the strong arm of the law obediently repressed, had no reason for seeing any great need for setting up a more efficient education system. Their own requirements for their children were attended to by elitist private schools and the State Universities.

The more farseeing elements of this class, which were represented in Government by the technocratic Opus Dei Ministers, could see the importance of a more advanced technology and of the necessity for a higher standard of qualification in the work force, but at the same time resisted any reform of the fiscal system. They were quite insensitive to social pressures which in a democratic State would have effective methods of expression, but which in this case, could be written off as further subversive activities. As usual, the question of education, of how to satisfy industry's labour force needs while maintaining a situation of privileged exploitation, presented a tense and complicated contradiction which was converted into a major

political problem. Throughout Spain's recent history, the educational scene has always been a sensitive barometer. Student agitation, as well as difficult legislation concerning education nearly always appear at moments of national tension, predicting important changes.

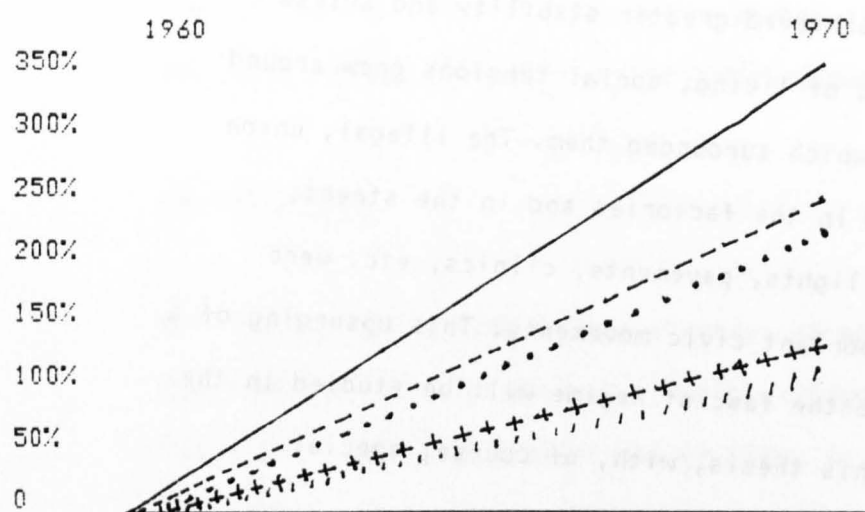
Social change

All through the decade of the sixties, as we have seen, families left the rural areas, their villages and "cortijos", and traditional way of life, in order to flock into the cities. All around the old industrial areas, Barcelona, Asturias, the Basque country, and the newly emerging industries in Madrid, Sevilla, Valencia etc. high rise flats, satellite towns, dormitory towns, and shanty towns grew up chaotically, close to the factories. These migrants who frequently had to pass years in shanty towns of incredibly miserable conditions, before being able to aspire to more adequate dwellings, received no help from any central or local government institutions. Nevertheless, in spite of the speculation and lack of control in the workers' housing available, the lack of town planning and the most essential services, such as paved streets, transport, parks, housing, shopping centres, churches, clinics, etc. the migration carried out with such suffering was regarded by most of the families concerned, the young people especially,

as a considerable cultural and social advancement.(44)

As these migrant families settled into their new surroundings and achieved greater stability and a less miserable standard of living, social tensions grew around all the problems which surrounded them. The illegal, union movements emerged in the factories and in the street, schools, traffic lights, pavements, clinics, etc. were fought for in important civic movements. This upsurging of a new opposition to the fascist Regime will be studied in the second part of this thesis, with, of course, special attention to the theme of education.

Comparison of economic and educational growth in %:



- _____ = per capita income
- = working person's income
- = Gross National Product
- +++++ = No. of pupils in Primary and Secondary schools
- ////// = % distribution of Budget allocation for Education

(45)

Education and economic development - Reform without change.

It can be said that the Regime, throughout the period of greatest economic expansion, remained insensitive to the necessity for a large increase in educational provision. The two did not keep pace. The upper classes continued to be served by the private sector, until reaching the level of University education which was predominantly of the State. Sectors of the middle and working classes began to force the state system beyond its capacity, while, in general, the workers and peasants' children continued to be condemned to an impoverished primary system which effectively blocked access for the majority to secondary and higher levels.

Within the Regime and its dominant capitalist classes, there were, as we have shown, signs of crisis, to the extent that some of its members realized that the initial Fascist attempts at controlling the masses by linking them to fascist, demagogic, populist objectives was no longer practical. A new technocratic approach was required which would propose peace and prosperity while never admitting any political protagonism or participation. These elements within the Regime wished to abandon the Fascist trappings, while retaining the intensely antidemocratic character of

the Regime. They were conscious of the enormous cost which the process of industrialization had signified in terms of productivity, while they ignored the tremendous social costs and the general injustice of the situation. "Now advanced capitalism offered the possibility of a model of economic development which promised to leave intact the authoritarian and oligarchic structures of traditional and fascist Spain." (46)

The gap or lag which existed between Spain and advanced capitalist Europe, was the great obsession of those wishing to introduce reforms. "It was the obsession with the European and American model that made the new planners turn to the expertise of the West. The reports of the OECD and the World Bank all emphasised that if Spain were to prosper she must end the 'fear of the market', dismantle the orthopaedic apparatus of autarky and open up the country to foreign investment and foreign trade." (47)

The continued labour unrest, coupled with student agitation, especially in Madrid and Barcelona helped to produce the government crisis of 1957, in which such classic exponents of the early Fascist style of government as Jose Antonio Girón who had been Minister of Labour since 1940 were replaced. Girón was not eliminated from the Government as he was named National Councillor of the Movement by Franco.

They were replaced, as we have said, by technocratic Opus Dei Ministers. These Ministers, greatly influenced by U.S. capitalism and supported by the World Bank, introduced the "Plan de Estabilización" which had counted on the participation and advice of the World Bank. "By the end of 1958 Spain's economic situation was precarious, especially in reference to its foreign exchange reserves. It was evident to the new Government that drastic measures were required, and in July 1959 the Government drew up a stabilization programme in cooperation with OCDE and the Industrial Monetary Fund. The purpose of the 1959 Stabilization Plan was to lay the foundations of a balanced development as well as to take the first steps toward integration in the European economy." (48) Thus a new impulse was given to these Ministers. In 1962 the World Bank published a report entitled "Economic Development in Spain" which was received with great expectation. The full report was not published as the more conflictive, critical elements were censured. The report proposed a series of neoliberal measures, ignored the necessity for structural changes of a democratic nature and simply occupied itself with how to improve the system of production in the interests of the dominant classes. Thus "Opus Dei ideologues and fellow travellers took up and further elaborated Western technocratic ideologies of development and the end-of-ideology thesis in order to legitimize the Spanish

economic modernization from above and the authoritarian political system." (49)

As a result of this report the first "Plan de Desarrollo", Development Plan was drawn up, by the Minister of Planning, Lopez Rodó, a member of the Opus Dei, and passed in the "Cortes" in 1963. It was to cover the period 1964-1967. It was based, as well as on the World Bank Report, on the model of a similar initiative in France, the Plan Monnet, which had been put into effect in 1946. Through this Development Plan an attempt was made to ensure a growth rhythm of 6% for the Gross National Product and to coordinate public and private enterprise. Owing to the predominance of the latter it was difficult to ensure the results. The Plan, which in its conception was simply a plan for economic development, and did not consider such questions as the redistribution of wealth, or an attempt to even out regional imbalances, added the word social and, at least on paper, attempted to improve its image and indicate its social content. However, it was severely criticized by the more progressive elements because of its conservative orientation and accused of being more of a political instrument than an instrument for economic development. In none of its aspects did the Plan manage to fulfil its programme or achieve its proclaimed aims and least of all in the social aspects. These contained objectives in relation to education and vocational training

in particular, which were only carried out to a very reduced degree.

In relation to education, the First Plan based its proposals on a report drawn up in 1962 by UNESCO, "La educación y el desarrollo económico y social. Objetivos de España para 1970." (Education and Economic and Social Development. Spain's objectives for 1970.) This study was not very precise in its information on the reality of the Spanish situation, however, it proposed a series of objectives, such as school places for all children between 6 and 15 years old, concentration of rural schools, transport etc. and the adaptation of education plans to the social and economic reality. It proposed placing 50% of the young people in Secondary Education and Vocational Training and 5% in Higher Education.

Perhaps of greater influence was the OCDE's Mediterranean Regional Report of 1963, which tried to estimate Spain's educational requirements until 1975. Its information on the reality of the situation was much more exact and its proposals tried to relate education to the needs of economic development. Its objectives were not realized. In 1966 the project was revised in order to adapt it to the First and Second "Planes de Desarrollo", but again the objectives remained unfulfilled.

Chapter XXI of the First "Plan de Desarrollo" was devoted to a programme of school building to meet the population's growing educational requirements, as diagnosed by the authors of the Plan based on the information received from the Ministry of Education. In this chapter a critical note is introduced when dealing with the existing educational system. This is typical of the language of the Plans which were dressed in a pseudo progressive language when dealing with social problems, but which at least did indicate that they were conscious of the handicap which such a backward system represented for economic advancement. However public spending was totally restricted by the fact that any serious tax reform was unthinkable. The criticism was expressed in the following terms:

- in Primary Education a lack of school places is acknowledged, also the fact that the compulsory period is the lowest in Europe. The rural dispersion with 43,000 one teacher schools, is pointed out. The low level of teachers' salaries and the grave lack of material and equipment is also denounced.

- at Secondary level, a lack of schools and the reduced number of graduates employed in teaching are the defects noted.

- in vocational training schools, again the lack of schools, particularly residential ones, is denounced.

- at University level an insufficiency in the output of graduates in general, lack of research, defficient installations and equipment and the low success rate, that is, the reduced number of graduates in relation to the number of students.

Two lines of action were proposed by the Plan:

- the school leaving age (end of compulsory education) should be raised to 14. (This was, in fact, carried out by a Bill in 1964.)

- the restructuring of higher studies in technical and engineering subjects so as to produce more graduates.

Concrete aims:

- in Primary education to build 14,173 "aulas", that is classrooms (all primary school building planning was based on the concept of classroom, one classroom, one teacher, forty children, rather than schools) and teachers' residences and provide the necessary equipment. In view of the incapacity of local governments to fulfil their

obligations in equipping and maintaining schools, the State's participation was increased in the Bills of July 1964 and December 1964. The deficit was estimated as 5,500 schools and teacher's residences. It was proposed that Teacher Training Colleges should become mixed by joining the masculine and feminine schools, and that 6 new Training Colleges be built.

- In Secondary education 244,514 new State school places (in secondary education this unit was used for planning) were to be created and 220,000 in private schools.

- For Vocational Training 77,050 new places were to be created, 14,143 in accelerated short courses, 5,355 new places in Fishery schools and 7,200 new places in Agricultural schools.

- At University level, the number of graduates was to be stepped up, without creating specific targets. In the Plan, there was also a very brief mention of technical, scientific research. The Budget proposed was 449 millions for 1964, 476 millions for 1965, 443 millions for 1966 and 315 millions for 1967, for what was considered a basic sector. Private research represented 15% of the official.

All of the Development Plans continued to make provisions

for education, but they were definitely not taken into account as an influential factor with a role to play in the existing, dramatic, industrial expansion which was changing the population distribution, life style and consuming habits of the nation. It is true that the Ministry for Planning, at least on paper, showed a much greater sensitivity towards the educational and cultural needs of the population, in the process of converting itself into a modern industrialized society, than other areas of the Government. However, its failure to fulfil its provisions, indicates a real lack of political decision, on the part of the Regime, to attend to such obvious requirements. The absence of any democratic means of pressure on the part of the sections of society most affected by these needs, made it possible for the Government to continue to carry out its policies, blindly, ignoring what were inevitably vital needs of the capitalist system itself, quite apart from any considerations of social justice.

From within the Regime, criticism of this Plan and the subsequent Second Plan emerged from the Falangists. For example, Carlos Iglesias Selgas, first President of the Private teachers State Vertical Trade Union which was created in 1964, published a report in 1966, on the eve of the Second Plan's publication. In it he set out his criticism of the First Plan and his criteria for the Second

Plan's orientation. As President of the teachers' State Union, he participated in the preparatory commission. (50)

His criticism began by indicating that in 1964, 2.68% of GNP was spent on education and in 1966 12.7% of the National Budget. However the criticism does not go on to point out that the Plan never fulfilled its modest proposals in education, a fact which was at no time admitted or explained at public or official level. Indeed the same fate was to befall the Second Plan. Its proposals for school building simply enable one to calculate the real deficit in school places available, a deficit which continued to grow, scarcely alleviated by the Plan.

Iglesias Selgas commenced with the obvious request that a greater portion of the Budget be spent on Education in order to meet the growing demand. "In a double sense education and economic development are linked; economic growth permits educational development and inversely educational development is one of the conditions for economic progress." He plumps heavily for the human capital theory: "The problem of satisfying economic necessities in qualified manpower (especially scientific and technical personnel) has, in many countries, become the essential motive for a qualified development of their school systemAlthough it is true that, up to now, social demands and demographic pressure

have played a more important role in the development of education than manpower needs."

In his demands for greater economic support for education, he quotes the Fifth Plan of France in 1966 and the Regional Project of the OECD in relation to Spain, published in 1965. Throughout his report he points out the lack of a correct preparation for the Plan, no demographic study, no labour force needs study, no teacher requirement study. His attitude is that those who drew up the Plan, Lopez Rodó at the head of the Planning Office, had good intentions, but their proposals lacked prevision and economic means. Really an extraordinary understatement in view of the almost total ineffectualness of the Plan's projects in this field. His aims for the Second Plan are that it "should define its objectives in terms of the technological development which best corresponds to the scientific, economic and financial capacity of Spain, taking care to relate expenditure to GNP and the adequate distribution of resources."

So wrote the President of the State Vertical Teachers' Union which in 1967 signed its first collective wage agreement, "Convenio Colectivo" for teachers in private schools, which kept salary levels as low almost as those of unskilled workers, in the case of primary teachers. His "Sindicato" also proposed State aid for private schools and denounced

the proposals of the building of State schools contained in the Second Plan as representing unfair competition and an indirect attempt to close down private schools. It is curious that this criticism, on the one hand from populist, demagogic positions, and on the other in line with current technocratic models emanating from the United States and industrialised Europe, and at the same time containing a most conservative defense of private interests and privileges as represented by private schools, should emerge from the more traditionally fascist elements of the Regime. Later on, when reform proposals were converted into a Bill, this sector was the one which most virulently opposed its financing, thus crippling the whole proposed reform.

Government attitude to Vocational Education and Training.

In 1962, the Ministry of Education produced a report on Secondary Education of a vocational type, in order to supply the Office of the Development Plan with the required information of the real situation.

As the report stated "one motive for the holding back of private, national and foreign capital investment is the lack of qualified manpower." (51) This report was to back up the technocratic proposals of Lopez Rodó which would be later expressed in the "Plan de Desarrollo".

In this report the needs for skilled workers in the different sectors were established as 80,000 new skilled workers a year. To achieve such an output would require 500,000 students in vocational training, whereas the figures in 1961-62 were 27,360 plus 74,091, giving a total of 101,451.

The history of vocational teaching as an activity apart from natural on the job learning, commenced in Spain in 1924 and 1928 when Statutes of "Formación Profesional", vocational training, were promulgated. These Statutes organized the setting up of a system, within the regular system of education, of schools for vocational training. They depended on the Ministry of Labour and were half way between the modern industrialized tendencies of the epoch and the traditional craft trade. They were run by local and provincial Boards and they functioned as night schools, as the bulk of their pupils were young workers.

After the Civil War in 1949, a Falange inspired Bill created a network of "Institutos Laborales", State vocational schools, which were divided into three types according to the predominant forms of production of the area in which they were situated. These were Industrial, Maritime and Fishing and Agricultural.

In 1955, when Ruiz-Gimenez was Minister, the Ministry of Education drew up a Vocational Training Bill which set up this type of training as an integral part of the school system. In order to finance these schools firms had to pay a quota, which was considerably reduced, up to 75%, if the firm carried out any specific vocational training programme with its own workers.

The types of schools created by this Bill were: Schools of Prelearning, Industrial Vocational Schools and "Escuelas de Maestria", Higher Level Vocational Schools. Stimulated by the Bill, other Ministries also created vocational schools, such as the Ministry of Labour, of Agriculture, Subsecretaria of the Merchant Navy, the Vertical Trade Union Organization, the Ministries of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, as well as the Church, some large firms and other private entities.

In 1955 the Ministry of Labour, with the Falange Minister, Jose Antonio Girón (52), which had already created some specific Vocational Schools, such as schools for social workers, created in collaboration with State run Labour Pension Funds the "Universidades Laborales", residential Vocational Schools built on a very grandiose scale, in which vocational training was combined with normal secondary

school curriculum and Technical Engineering.

In 1957 the Syndical Office of Accelerated Vocational Training was formed by the Ministry of Labour which set up a series of centres which imparted short courses on specific trades to workers. In 1964 the "Plan Nacional de Promoción Profesional Obrera", PPO, National Plan of Workers Vocational Promotion was set in motion with a programme of short, mobile, occupational courses. The Army also collaborated in this project establishing such courses in the Army.

In the Agricultural sector the Schools for Foremen were the only type of schools which imparted modern farming techniques until 1964 when the Ministry of Agriculture set up the "Planteles de Servicio de Extensión Agraria", Schools at the Service of Agrarian Extension in rural areas. In these areas private initiative, counting on very impoverished means set up Schools for Farming families and Schools for Rural Families.

(53)

To have a more exact picture of what was attempted, it is useful to reproduce their statistical description.

The number of schools in the country imparting this type of

education was 231 and they were divided into the following categories:

Table 19.

1. State Schools depending on the Ministry of Education = 101.
2. Labour Universities depending on the Ministry of Labour = 4.
3. Schools organized by religious orders - 101
4. Schools organized by the Single State Vertical Trade Union = 3.
5. Private Schools - 22.

In only 17 of these schools could the higher level of vocational training be reached.

The different specializations were divided up as follows:
(according to the above mentioned types of schools as numbered)

Table 20.

Num.	Agriculture	Industrial Mining	Nautical Fishery	Admin.
Total	70	41	7	114

1.	56	32	7	6
2.	2	3	-	-
3.	5	1	-	95
4.	1	-	-	2
5.	6	5	-	11

As well as these vocational schools there were 303 schools of Industrial Vocational Training, of which 97 were official State schools and 206 were non-official.

Table 21.

In the school year 1961-62 pupil attendance at the first mentioned 231 schools was:

Type	Bachillerato		Bachillerato	
	Laboral		Laboral	
	Elemental		Superior	
	Official	Non-official	Official	Non-official
Agri.	9,129	1,367	228	172
Indust.				
Mining	5,136	665	102	333
Naut.				
Fishery	982	-	40	-

Admin.	1,371	5,846	188	509
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	16,638	7,878	558	1,014

Total of all: 27,360

Among these students the proportion of girls was in Agriculture 3.1%, in Industry and Mining 1.2%, none in Nautical and Fishery and 99% in Administrative.

In the centres of Industrial Vocational Training, the following figures were given by the "Junta de Formación Profesional Industrial", Industrial Vocational Training Board, the official Ministerial governing body of this type of education, for the school year 1961-62:

Official State pupils: 25,837

Non-official pupils: 48,254

Total: 74,091

These pupils were distributed as follows, according to type (num.) and level:

Table 22.

Num.	Pre-specialization	Specialization	Higher Level	Total
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1.	3,122	20,612	2,103	25,837
2.	530	2,740	582	3,852
3.	5,699	6,614	688	13,001
4.	6,397	10,482	500	17,379
5.	4,691	8,709	622	14,022
<hr/>				
	20,439	49,157	4,495	74,091

The schooling rate in this form of vocational training represented 0,7% of the juvenile population from ten to sixteen years of age in the "Bachillerato Laboral" and 1.9% of the twelve to nineteen population in "Formación Profesional Industrial".

This report was drawn up simply to inform the Plan and in the subsequent Plans these needs were reflected, but adequate solutions were never put into effect. "The vocational training schools continued to turn out graduates with the same traditional skills that had been produced during the previous thirty years... The supply of trained and educated manpower did increase, but not necessarily in the right amount for specific occupations, or in the right occupational mix." (54) The First Plan was intended for the period 1964 to 1967, but as the Second was not passed until

1969, it was extended, and the Third which was published in 1971 was supposed to reach 1980. However by then the Dictator was dead, this type of planning had reached its end and was becoming increasingly less important. In 1976 the Ministry of Planning disappeared in the last Government before Democracy.

The State Trade Union, through its "Obra Sindical", an organization financed by the Union, undertook building projects and the running of different social services, all on a small scale sociologically speaking, as they reached a scant number of the population, but from a propaganda point of view carried out with lavish expense and great show. The "Obra Sindical" also participated in vocational training as can be seen in the statistics given on Vocational Schools earlier. In 1965 a very glossy, highly illustrated report was drawn up, giving the history of this participation. (55) Its beginnings date from the "Ley de Bases" Basic Laws of 1940 in which the organization was empowered to carry out the "formation of young workers". Its activities are described in stages:

- from 1941 to 1946, they were studying the situation!
- in 1941, 60 schools were set up

- from 1944 to 1945, they reached a total of 36 schools

- in 1962, there were 82 schools

Through the "Plan de Desarrollo" they hoped to reach the figure of 150 schools by 1967. The number of pupils attending these schools were in the school year 1940-41, 1,291, in 1950-51, 12,127, in 1960-61, 22,229 and in 1963-64, 30,236. They also carried out short courses for adults since 1957 in five centres and maintained one centre for training monitors. Between 1957 and 1964, 11,381 pupils attended these centres. The following diplomas were awarded: Metallurgy - 5,302; Electricity - 1,518; Woodwork - 978; Building trades - 2,490, giving a total of 10,288.

These schools had certain advantages over the ones run by the Ministry of Education in that they were usually better equipped and offered a larger variety of specializations. However the "academic" nature of the teaching and the excessively early and narrow specialization meant that the training was of little practical use on entering work, although perhaps workers were slightly better prepared than in other schools.

A report drawn up subsequently by the Ministry of Education

in 1971, studying the situation of vocational training in the light of the new Education Act made a series of criticisms of educational practice up till then. (56) It insisted on the fact that up till then the curriculum was based on achieving a training which would equip the pupil for future work in a specific trade, but in no way represented an integral formation. The report proposed the need for close collaboration between industrial firms, the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Labour and the "Obra Sindical". It denounced the total divorce between vocational training and industry, the purely "academic" character of its diplomas whose possessors then had to start work as apprentices, in spite of them.

It pointed out the need for legislation and practical ways of guaranteeing the relationship between industry and education. It insisted on the rapid evolution of technology and its application to industry which should be taken into account. The need for permanent education was stressed and it even hinted at the necessity for Industry's collaboration, including the release of workers for training. In this sense, somewhat vague proposals of possible agreements between industrial firms and the Ministry of Education were sketched out.

The discrimination of women, who within the already limited

possibilities of obtaining vocational training, were faced with still more reduced opportunities, was criticized. It considered the provision for greater vocational training facilities for women as a means of incorporating them into the work force.

The Ministry was attempting to bolster up the "new" vocational training proposed in the Education Act, which in reality was to become the Cinderella of the system. It became the second rate secondary education for the less able pupil and carried on all the defects of its predecessor. In the next chapters when the Government's White Paper and the Education Bill will be examined in greater detail, this will become clear.

Aid from International organizations.

An interesting attempt on the part of the Spanish Government to obtain aid from international organizations resulted in a World Bank project to be carried out in Galicia, one of the most backward and poorest areas of the country, where the small peasant farmer and fishermen make up the main occupations and emigration to Central and South America forms a traditional part of the life pattern. In 1970 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development drew up a report on a proposed loan of \$12 million. It would be

the Bank's sixth operation in Spain, but the first to be devoted to education. The Spanish Government had asked for aid in July 1968, with the object of providing for greater mobility in the work force. They really asked for help in financing the new Education Act.

In November 1968 the World Bank, UNESCO and FAO carried out a preliminary reconnaissance mission. In August of 1969 the project was prepared by the World Bank and UNESCO, appraised in November 1969 and negotiated in Washington in March 1970.

In the report presented there was an explicit recognition of the inadequacy of Spain's educational system,:"Spain's traditional educational system, however, does not provide the necessary flexibility in the training of the work force."
(57)

The text of the draft Bill (subsequent Education Act of 1970) was satisfactory for the World Bank and a further report was drawn up in May 1970. In the section entitled "manpower needs" we read: "Spain does not suffer as much from a lack of academically qualified manpower, as from a lack of managerial, organizational and entrepreneurial talent." (58)

Their enrolling project proposed the schooling of 40% of

children from 2 to 5 years old, 100% from 6 to 13, 43% from 14 to 17, 10% in Higher Education and 7%, 440,000 pupils from 13 to 23 in vocational training. They considered that by 1980, Spain should be spending 4% of the GNP on education which would be more in line with Spain's economic and social development objectives and its level of economic development".

Specifically in relation to the Galician project they stated "because the nature of each proposed project item is related to the new Bill, enactment of the Act by the "Cortes", without substantive changes from the Bill approved by the Education Commission is a condition of the effectiveness of the proposed loan."

The first project was begun in Galicia, but after one year, in view of the lack of local support, of inefficiency and what amounted to wanton waste of the money involved, it was abandoned. So the World Bank's attempt at bringing the work force more in line with a modern capitalist country's were deemed to be impossible under the circumstances of Spain of the year 1970. Corruption and inertia defeated the neoliberal aims.

The type of industry which was developed in Spain.

Taking into account the total number of pupils graduating from the different types of vocational schools and of adults who received short courses, as well as the lack of interconnection between the curriculum and pedagogic practice in these schools and work reality, it is clear that the main part of work force transformation took place on the job. This has obvious implications on the type of industry and services which the "boom" was based on. It is interesting to note that in the late sixties and early seventies, workers who had emigrated to Germany or France, for example, and had been trained in factories there, found on returning and trying to find work in Spain, that their skills were in advance of the technology in use in Spanish factories. In many cases they ended up setting up small industries and workshops of their own.

In general it was composed of industry of a dependent nature which meant untapped national resources and the importation of modern foreign technology and machinery. Motor car, mechanical, electrical and petro-chemical industries were leading ones and in all of them there was considerable foreign capital control. The domestic market was irregular. There were multinational firms involved in every domestic firm. In general, a low level of productivity prevailed. There was obviously a lack of technological research and the multinationals controlled the export market.

The energy policy, turning from coal, a local product, to petrol was dictated from outside, due to changes in transport and communications. Road transport substituted rail transport at a rapid and to a large extent, unjustifiable rate. For example, in 1970 in France and Germany 70% of goods were still carried by rail, whereas in Spain only 25% were. (59)

In the Development Plan there was an absence of concrete aims and little or no attempt to bring coherence into public and private firms and the importation of foreign capital. The World Bank's orders were not discussed but immediately accepted.

Expenditure on importing technology increased more rapidly than the GNP in the years of economic expansion and continued to escalate during the seventies, in spite of the depression. The expenditure on research in Spain during the sixties and seventies did not reach even 50% of the cost of importing technology. The main sources of technology were the United States, France and Germany.

In the "Planes de Desarrollo" the proportion of the "Programa de Inversiones Públicas" PIP, Programme of Public expenditure, devoted to research in the first Plan

was 0,5%, in the second 1.15% and in the third 1.8%, although the commission in charge of drawing up proposals had asked for 14% in the first and 34% in the second, quantities which they proposed would bring expenditure on research up to 0.6% of GNP. (60)

Conclusion

In this chapter the complicated process of "modernization", in so far as such a process was possible within a fascist police State, has been analysed. Starting out from a very backward situation, the cultural level of the population, whose working sector was largely employed in agriculture up until the sixties, has been examined, showing a very defficient level. Yet from this sector, whose educational opportunities were so defficient, the main body of the new industrial work force was drawn. At the same time the school system which emerged from the Civil War and the subsequent repression suffered by the teaching profession, in a very enfeebled state, had received little attention or investment. Although in the period of expansion, especially in the decade of the sixties, the number of school places increased, especialy in secondary education, nevertheless, a large proportion of the young population and almost all the adult population which migrated from the country to the industrialised centres, attracted by the employment

opportunities had received very little school preparation for their future, radically different lives. Growth in educational provision in no way kept pace with economic growth.

The spectacular economic growth was initially totally unplanned and subsequently reflected the neoliberal indications of the World Bank and OCDE, rather than any internal proposal, with the absence of any form of democratic discussion or participation. The intervention of these international organizations was treated in an ambiguous manner by the government, who did not hesitate to censure their reports when their content was too critical, yet at the same time their indications were followed in a literal manner, at least in the drawing up of policies, if not in their subsequent effectiveness, without any attempt to measure their suitability for Spanish reality.

Nevertheless this process produced internal tensions, as can be seen in the criticisms quoted of Iglesias Selgas of the Falangist sector with respect of the Development Plans which represented the technocratic, Opus Dei Ministers policies for "modernization".

Vocational training in secondary education, as is shown, was particularly insufficient, although there were various initiatives, some of a purely populist and propagandistic

nature, which attempted to fill in the obvious defficiencies which the work force had to contend with. These defficiencies, coupled with the lack of attention to research and the small number of graduates in technical areas, meant that the economic growth was severely limited to a dependent type of production with an ever increasing presence of foreign and multinational capital and companies.

The capitalist class, which benefited from this expansion was, as has been shown, especially insensitive to social demands, irresponsible in their attitudes and highly suspicious of education as a public service.

The manner in which this expansion took place, created internal political tensions and helped develop a social opposition to the repressive Regime. At the same time, the lack of an adequate education system was a factor which the more "modern" sectors of the Regime recognised and which the popular classes were also beginning to denounce. All of this tension led to an attempt at educational reform, initiated by the technocratic Ministers, which will be analysed in the subsequent chapters.

Notes.

1. Fernandez de Castro, La Fuerza de Trabajo en España, Madrid, Cuadernos para el Dialogo, 1973, Page 90.
2. Tuñon de Lara et al, Historia de España, Vol 10, Barcelona, Labor, 1980 Page 95.
3. Tamames, Introducción a la Economía española, Madrid, Alianza, 1967, Page 74.
4. The word had its origin in the name of a game of chance, named after its inventors Strauss and Perlo, which caused a political scandal in 1935. Subsequently it became identified with various illegal practices.
5. Duran, El trabajo de la mujer en España, Madrid, Tecnos, 197, . Page 34.
6. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 90.
7. Opus Dei, a Catholic organization which was first recognized by the Vatican in 1947, was composed of personalities who were close to the Regime, but distinct from the Falangists as they

were more elitist and technocratic. Their rise to political power was most notable in 1957. They also acquired considerable influence in the universities, founding their own in Navarra. They were close to the most conservative Bishops.

8. Casanova. "The Opus Dei ethic, the technocrats and the modernization of Spain." Trends and Developments. London 1983.
9. Tufion de Lara et al. Op. cit. Page 89.
10. Ibid. Pages 76 and 78.
11. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 87 and 88.
12. Op. cit.
13. Ibid. Page 94.
14. Ibid. Page 95.
15. Bozal, et al, La Ensenanza en España, Madrid, Comunicación, 1975,Page 130.
16. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 172.

17. Ibid. Page. 166.
18. Ibid. Page 167.
19. Durán. Op. cit. Pages 168-169.
20. "Bachillerato Elemental" refers to secondary education from 12 to 14, "Bachillerato Superior" refers to secondary education from 14 to 17 and "Preuniversitario" (Preu) is the equivalent to the 6th Form.
Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 168.
21. Ministerio de Educación, La Enseñanza en España. Bases para una política educativa, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, 1969. Page 74.
22. Perez Diaz, Cambio tecnológico y procesos educativos en España, Madrid, Seminarios y Ediciones, 1972, Page 59.
23. Bozal et al. Op. cit. Page 257.
24. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 169.

25. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 150-151.
26. Durán, Op. cit. Page 174.
27. de Miguel et al. "Revista de la Opinión Pública". Madrid, March 1976.
28. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Page 170.
29. Román, Los limites del crecimiento economico en España 1959-1967"Madrid,Ayuso, 1972.quote from Kindleberger, Europe`s Postwar Growth, Harvard, 1967, Page 191.(My translation)
30. de Miguel et al. Op. cit.
31. Bozal et al. Op. cit. Page 218
32. Ibid Pages 297,320 -322.
33. Fernandez de Castro. Op. cit. Pages 96,97,98.
34. Ibid. Page 99.
35. Ibid. Page 95.

36. Ibid. Page 103.
37. Ibid. Page 104
38. "Comisiones Obreros" was a labour organization which grew up in the sixties as an underground movement.
39. Ibid. Page 112.
40. Ibid. Page 158.
41. Fernandez de Castro, Op. cit. Page 159.
42. Ibid. Page 99.
43. Ibid. Page 111.
44. A primary teacher in Getafe, a town in the factory belt surrounding Madrid, asked his pupils, children of recently arrived migrant workers, to describe Getafe. They described it as being "beautiful", full of factories where their Daddies worked. This was in the early seventies.

45. Sources: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia,
La Educación en España: Bases para una
política educativa, Page 156. Tuñón de Lara
Op. cit. Vol. 10. Page 74. and "Documentación
Económica. 1972" Vol. 1. Page 44.
46. Casanova. Op. cit. Page 31.
47. Carr and Fusi, Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy,
London, George Allan & Unwin, 1981. Page 54.
48. Horowitz, Manpower and Education in Franco's
Spain, Conneticut, Hamden, 1974. Page 18.
49. Casanova. Op. cit. Page 31.
50. Iglesias Selgas, La planificación del des-
arrollo de la Enseñanza en España, Madrid,
Gráficos EMA, 1966.
51. Min. Educación, Madrid. May 1962.
42. Jose Antonio Girón was named Minister of

Labour by Franco in 1940 and remained in the Ministry until 1957. He was a Falangist noted for his absolute fidelity to Franco and for his demagogic gestures. From the Ministry of Labour he controlled the State Vertical Trade Union. Even after he was removed from the Ministry he continued to act as a loyal "informer" to Franco and never really accepted the Falange old guard's loss of influence. He was an extravagant figure who at the coming of democracy retired to his properties in the south with an number of bodyguards who almost amounted to a private army.

53. Min. Ecomia y Comercio, Formación Profesional en España: situación y perspectivas, Madrid, May 1962. Pages 43 - 46.
54. Horowitz. Op. cit. Page 126.
55. Obra Sindical, 25 años de Formación Profesional en la Obra Sindical española, Madrid, Obra Sindical, 1965.
56. Min. Educación, La Formación Profesional

ante las perspectivas de la nueva Ley de
Educación, Madrid, Dir. Gen., MEC, 1971.

57. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. "Report on proposed loan". June 1970.
58. Ibid.
59. Laguna, La economía, la sociedad y la profesión, Madrid, Ayuso, 1975. Pages 97 and 98.
60. Triana, Qué es la dependencia tecnológica, Barcelona, La Gaya Ciencia, 1977. Page 42.

Part I. Education in Franco's Spain.

Chapter Three. The First Steps in Educational Reform.

Introduction:

In this chapter it is intended to show that the causes for the publishing of the Government White Paper and subsequent Education Bill were complex. On the one hand was the need to modernize the education system and convert it into an adequate instrument capable of supplying the work force demanded by the newly emerging industrialized society. This need was recognised only by some of the dominant classes and their representatives in the Franco Government, the Opus Dei, technocratic Ministers. Other elements of the Regime, remained exclusively anchored to the past and the fascist origins of the system. On the other hand the social changes which the industrialization process had produced, the migration, growth of cities and towns and growing dissatisfaction with the Franco Regime, meant that

opposition was beginning to be expressed in a much more open and articulate manner. The workers' movement led the process with struggles for better pay and conditions which, on being severely repressed, were converted into more political demands for democratic rights. The University students followed the workers' example linking their criticism of their academic reality to the workers' demands. On a popular level, the families newly installed in the cities began to demand more humane surroundings and, in particular, schools for their children. The middle classes were also becoming impatient with the lack of services and the terrible restrictions which the Regime imposed on society. They too demanded better educational facilities. From all sides the demand arose.

It is also intended to show, that the contradictory elements which were forcing educational reform, were reflected in the timidity with which the reform was presented and the superficiality of the official self criticism. The proposal was ambitious, but, it is maintained, gravely restricted by the fact that it would never go against the nature of the Regime, nor cede in the protection of the ruling classes' interests. It is shown, through the explanations given by the main authors of the attempted reform, the Minister of Education and, especially, the Assistant Undersecretary, Blat Jimeno, responsible for the drawing up of the White

Paper, that the reformers were very isolated within the Government and conscious of the limitations and obstacles they were bound to encounter, as well as the hostility they might well provoke.

The White Paper itself is analyzed, both its first part of criticism of the education system and the second part of reform proposals and it is shown that the causes of the desolate state of the whole school system, both in quantity and quality, are never brought out in the critical section, which is however unusually frank in its findings. The reform proposals were very timid and to a large extent inconclusive, as they did not explain the ways and means of the proposed reform.

The White Paper

In 1969 the White Paper which bore the title "Education in Spain - basis for an education policy" was published by the Ministry of Education and Science. The book consisted of two parts, the first and most extensive, 198 pages as opposed to 43 pages, being an analysis of the existing situation of education and the second part the proposals or basis for an education policy. This study was to lead to the drawing up of an Education Bill, its discussion in the Franquist "Cortes" and subsequent passing of an Education

Act.

In the last chapter we maintained that the important economic expansion, which began to emerge in the fifties and became a reality in the sixties was carried out without any real support from the education system. The Government which had made the break with autarky and permitted sufficient liberalization of the economy to produce the expansion, which the breaking down of Spain's total isolation on an international level made possible, did contain elements who were aware of the gravity of the gap between the Spanish education system and those of the rest of the advanced capitalist countries and of the consequences this could have for continuing economic growth. The research which was carried out by numerous civil servants in the different Ministries, as well as by specialists from the private firms, as a basis for the "Planes de Desarrollo" did represent an important effort to come to grips with the reality of the "boom", at least on the part of the specialists who did the work, many of whom were contrary to the dominant ideology. The Government obviously made what use it pleased of this accumulated data, but at least there was greater clarity about the reality of certain sections of the economy and its interrelation with education.

It was against this background, coupled with the failure of

the proposals in education of the "Planes de Desarrollo" that the Reform was undertaken. At the same time, the spreading unrest and open opposition to the Franco Regime, which began with the workers and spread to the Universities, by the decade of the sixties was a source of real concern to the Regime.

The University student population had grown in Spain, from 69,541 in 1957 to 141,640 in 1966.(1) In 1957, a Bill was passed which eliminated the entrance exams to the Higher Technical Schools of Engineering, etc. Up to then, these exams of a totally selective nature had been aimed to maintain the elitist character of such professions as engineers of all types, architects, etc. Between 1956 and 1960 the number of students attending these Schools was tripled.

The growing student unrest was treated by the Minister of Education, Lora Tamayo as a problem of public order. The students, in their agitations, specifically demanded his resignation. Added to the students' activities, signs of unrest among professors were producing a sensation of chaos and frustration in the University scene. Lora Tamayo's inability to cope with the situation led to his removal and replacement by Villar Palasi in 1968. The new Minister decided that the insufficiencies of the education system

demanding a complete overhaul and legislative action on a grand scale, that is, a new Education Act, the first since 1857. In order to prepare the way, the compiling of a White Paper was set up.

Before going into the process of the reform initiative and the moment of the White Paper's appearance, it is necessary to examine the social and political struggles that were taking place and which were themselves agents and causes of the process of changes, clashes, advances and retreats, which assailed the Franco Regime in the last years of the Dictator. The different elements which formed part of the complex situation which forced educational reform to be attempted, also contained, as we have pointed out, the new opposition or resistance which was led by the workers' struggle.

Workers' Movement

In the decade of the fifties the generation of the opposition to Franco began to change and to widen. The young people had not participated in the Civil War and the feelings of unrest were spreading to broader sections of the population, including the middle classes. One of the first

significant actions taken against the Regime was a boycott of trams, as a result of an announcement of the raising of fares which took place in Barcelona in 1951. After a months campaign of illegal pamphlets, demonstrations, etc. all severely repressed, on the day appointed, 97.7% of the usual tram passengers went about their business on foot.(2) The action was spectacular in the extreme because of the mass participation, and equally spectacular was the repression which followed.

In 1950 the PSUC, Communist Party in Cataluffa, had managed to participate successfully in the elections for "enlaces", delegates or shop stewards in the State Vertical Union. Other democratic, antiFranco candidates and representatives of the HDAC and JOC, Catholic organizations, were also elected. All of these helped organize this action which was a widespread expression of general discontent. The boycott lasted four days and in the end the Minister of Public Works ordered the suspension of the rise in fares.

During the boycott, the Falangists who were attempting to control the situation, in the State Vertical Union called for an Assembly of delegates which they lost all control of, and had to abandon. In the meeting, a general strike was called. Again participation was spectacular as not only industrial workers, but the Port, Telephone exchanges, Post

Office workers, taxi drivers etc., about 300,000 workers in all, joined in. Of course the repression which followed, as the "Guardia Civil", a police force under military control, usually employed in rural areas, literally occupied the city was equally spectacular, but it represented the first real challenge to the Regime.

This strike was followed by other actions in Euskadi, Pamplona and a boycott on public transport in Madrid. In 1953 again there were strikes of importance in Euskadi and in 1954 there were again elections in the State Union with an advance in the election of antifranco "enlaces" or delegates.

In 1957 there was another important transport boycott in Madrid. In 1956 and 1957 there were important strike actions among the miners in Asturias, where the Communist Party, OSO and UGT had organizations. These actions gave rise to the origin of an original movement, "Comisiones Obreras, CC.OO", Workers Commissions. Initially a commission was formed to direct the strike and negotiate with the bosses. These commissions lasted as long as the action and then ceased to exist. Even the parish priest participated in the commission. Asturias was the precursor also of the active participation of members of the clergy in anti-franco opposition. Eventually these commissions became more

stabilized and began to coordinate among one another, first locally, then at provincial level and finally at national level. This form of movement permitted a more open, pluralist activity than a clandestine Trade Union, which while they existed during the fifties, failed by their very nature to attract any mass support and were much easier to repress.

The Workers Commissions were supported by the Communist Party and the Catholic organizations, such as HOAc, JOC, Vaguardia Obrera and many workers of democratic, antifranco ideas who were not affiliated to any political organization. The Socialists did not participate but continued to maintain the clandestine Trade Union, UGT which had been of such importance in pre Civil War days, but which in clandestine conditions was of small numerical importance except in Euskadi and Asturias.

1962 was a year of spectacular strikes, which reached the level of general strikes in Asturias, Euskadi, Cataluña, Madrid, Ciudad Real, Cordoba, Cadiz and Huelva. The Workers Commissions, the Communist Party, UGT, FLP, an organization started by progressive Catholic intellectuals, HOAC and JOC were all extremely active in the organizing of these actions. The existence of "Convenios Colectivos" was making the mechanics of negotiation and the creation of

"commissions" a natural practice. The strikes of 1962 reached important numbers of strikers and were subsequently repressed with great violence, also ensuring the dismissal of the new delegates from their jobs so that the "commissions" could not continue to operate.

From 1963 on the Ministry of Labour published the strike figures. These were very incomplete but give an idea of the momentum that the workers movement was gaining:

Table 1.

Year	Strikes	Tension	Go slows and other actions
1963	241	354	252
1964	126	57	134
1965	150	20	46
1966	147	18	39
1967	513	19	16
1968	309		31

1969	439		51
1970	1,542		86
1971	549	43	103
1972	713	85	76

(3)

It must be remembered that all these strikes took place without any legal guarantees. They were illegal and harshly punished. Organizers received severe prison sentences and dismissal from their jobs. Before reaching the Courts which sentenced them, they suffered brutal ill treatment and, on many occasions, tortures from the police. Any labour dispute which began with normal salary or working conditions claims, on clashing with the rigidity of the Regime, quickly became more political and the right to form and join a Union, the right to freedom of speech and assembly, and finally the protest against tortures and the demand for amnesty became the central themes. The only reply which Franco had for such unrest was repression and more repression against what were termed "agitators", "subversive agents" etc..

In 1964 the first "Comisión Obrera" was formed in Madrid by the metal workers, who met in the State Union's building, organized demonstrations and acted very openly. This initial period, particularly in Madrid, was one of almost tolerance on the part of the Regime. Madrid was changing. As the leader of the Metal Workers, Marcelino Camacho, wrote: "Industrial Madrid has succeeded the administrative capital. Yesterday the tone was given by groups of seamstresses; today it is the thousands of workers who in their blue or white overalls pass through Atocha on their way to Standard, Telefunken or Philips, towards their machine tools and production lines." (4)

By 1966 "Comisiones Obreras" was consolidated as a movement with an organization in trades at local, provincial and national level, in spite of the precarious conditions imposed by the repression. In the State Union elections, in which the participation was much higher than in previous elections, 84%, the candidates of "Comisiones" won in most large firms. UGT, the Socialist Union which had had such influence before the Civil War, proposed abstention.

In 1967 a new "Ley Sindical", Union Bill, was announced, although it took four years to be put into force. It was designed as an attempt to control the situation and separate the mass of workers from the politically conscious vanguard.

Alarmed by the growing strike movements, in 1967 a state of emergency was declared in Euzkadi and in 1969 in the whole of Spain. The Supreme Court declared "Comisiones Obreras" not just illegal but "subversive", which permitted much longer prison sentences to be imposed, and from 1967 onwards the Regime used the full power of its repressive machinery against this movement. The possibility of using the cover of legal "enlaces" or delegates, became more difficult as they were imprisoned and dismissed from their jobs and the holding of open factory assemblies with leaders of "Comisiones" present became almost impossible and explains the apparent retreat of the movement from 1967 to 1970 when it advanced again with renewed vigour.

Student Movement

As we have seen in Chapter 1 there was an initial small attempt at student agitation in the forties, quickly repressed, and in the fifties the movement was renewed, reaching special importance in 1956, when the student demonstrations caused the Christian Democrat Minister, Ruiz-Gimenez to be dismissed. He subsequently joined the ranks of the opposition and published a magazine, "Cuadernos para el Dialogo" which was to have considerable impact as an

organ of democratic expression in the sixties and seventies. The social repercussions of the arrests in 1956, when sons of important families, ardent supporters of the Franco Regime, in most cases, were arrested, was considerable and this continued to be an important aspect of the whole student movement which grew to immense proportions in the next fifteen years. The vast majority of University students came from the upper and middle classes who had either actively supported, or at any rate benefited from the Regime and yet their children led a political action which was to have great resonance against this Regime.

In the beginning of the decade in Madrid, in 1960 a new student organization appeared, "Federación Universitaria Democrática Española", FUDE, Spanish Democratic University Federation which was an attempt to unite all the different elements of student protest. Communists and Socialists wanted it to be an open platform for all antifascist students. FLP or Felipe as they were called, wanted a union of political parties and organizations, but the former thesis prevailed. Their first actions were against the Opus Dei and their University in Navarra and in solidarity with the miners' struggle in Asturias. A large demonstration in Madrid was repressed and several arrests made. A parapolice force, a characteristic of the University, appeared. A similar student organization, the Inter, inter-Faculties,

existed in Barcelona and the "Unión Vasca de Estudiantes" in Euskadi. They were all coordinated by the CUDE, Coordinator of Spanish Democratic Students.

In 1964 CUDE called for the celebration of a cultural week to be held in all Universities under the title "Renovación Universitaria", University Transformation. In Madrid and Salamanca lectures and talks by University professors, forming part of the programme were suspended by the police. The students held the II Free Assembly in Madrid University which was broken up by the police and Madrid University was closed. The brutality of the police caused more and more students to become involved in the struggles out of solidarity for their companions.

In 1965 in Madrid, a series of lectures given by progressive Professors who showed increasing support for the students' movement, was planned and forbidden by the Opus Dei Rector, who eventually gave way in the face of the pressure of 2000 students. The students attempted to hold the IV Free Student Assembly impeded by the police and para police, student volunteers for repression. To protest against this a large assembly of 5,000 students, headed by four professors was transformed into a march to the Rector's Pavillion which was stopped by the police who arrested the four professors and charged violently against the students. Three of the

profesors were immediately removed from their Chairs, later Tierno Galvan, subsequently to become the first, much loved Mayor of Madrid in democracy, a Professor from Salamanca who joined the students was also removed, and two or three others resigned their Chairs out of protest. About 50 professors publically expressed their solidarity with the sanctioned professors. Spanish and foreign intellectuals protested from different parts.

All during that University year the students continued to demonstrate and the campus was converted into a veritable battlefield, a scene of daily struggles between the students and the police.

One of the victims of this period of student struggle was the SEU, the Falange student organization. The students rejected it and finally a new organization was officially instituted, "Asociaciones Profesionales de Estudiantes", APE, Professional Student Associations, much to the Falangists' chagrin. However in the tense climate of the University with the expulsion of students, forced military service for the leaders, Court-martials, etc., these associations never got off the ground.

In 1967 the "Sindicato Democrático de Estudiantes Universitarios", SDEU, Democratic Union of University

Students, was formed and led the constant struggles of the student masses. These increasingly reflected the workers' struggles and expressed their solidarity with them. Leaders of "Comisiones Obreros" were invited to student assemblies. The events of May in France found echo in the Spanish students' struggle. The repression continued and a student Enrique Ruano died, having fallen from a balcony while in the hands of the police being interrogated in Madrid in 1969. There were massive student demonstrations in protest.

Two months later Franco substituted Lora Tamayo and named Villar Palasi Minister of Education and Science.

Causes which led to the White Paper.

In the year 1968 the labour struggle was especially tense. The militants of "Comisiones Obreras" suffered over a thousand trials, besides thousands of dismissals and loss of posts in the Vertical State Union. The University was literally occupied by the police, they did not have to be called to repress agitation, they were already there. Nevertheless student action continued to paralyze most University activity. At the same time movements were commencing, at first very reduced in the number of

activists, but achieving considerable social echo, among professionals, doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, architects, economists,....The Church was no longer a monolithic block which supported the Regime, but was divided within itself into two parts:one which remained loyal and supportive to Franco and a progressive wing which included activist priests who openly supported the antiFranco labour movement and all democratic confrontation against the Regime.

The economic liberalizing introduced by the Stability Plan, had led to a period of important economic growth, an increase in the working population, vast migratory movements towards the cities and a profound change in much of the population's way of life, yet the political and social structure of the State had not kept pace with the changing society. The technocratic Ministers represented the most "advanced" viewpoint in the Government, as compared to the Falangists or the Military, and they were at least aware of the deficiencies, as the "Planes de Desarrollo" indicated. Therefore in line with the neocapitalist theories of the OCDE, they continued to propose changes. Villar Palasi, a member of Opus Dei, was another such Minister and was prepared to attempt educational reform on those same lines, following the UNESCO model for educational reform in countries in the process of development.

In an interview published in "Cuadernos de Pedagogía", an educational journal, in May 1980, ten years after the Education Act which bears his name had been promulgated, the then ex-Minister Villar Palasi, stated that in his inaugural speech as Minister "I said very clearly that I knew what I was facing: a revolt that was not just going to be about students but about social problems." (5) He admits that he went into his task with his eyes open, at least as far as the opposition's attitude to the Regime was concerned.

In the same interview, dealing more precisely with the Education Bill's objectives, on being asked "Were you conscious of the total problem of the education system, apart from the specific University problem?" he replied: "Completely! There was a global concern for the education system. I recall that when I accepted the post (as Minister), I indicated that it would be impossible to reform the University if the whole system were not reformed. There is generally a kind of ping-pong between University professors of the first years who reproach secondary teachers for the fact that students arrive ill prepared in attitude, way of writing, thinking and comprehending; while the secondary teacher reproaches the primary teacher for the same Therefore a readjustment at every level was necessary or a reform only at University level would prove

sterile".(6)

With such technical and pedestrian motives the Minister justified embarking on a most ambitious project, the first Education Act since the "Ley Moyano" of 1857.(7) Perhaps his modesty was dictated by hindsight, in view of what subsequently happened to the original proposal.

In order to carry out the proposal Villar Palasi recalled from their posts in educational planning in UNESCO, two Spanish functionaries, Diaz Hochleiter who was appointed Under Secretary and Blat Jimeno who was the principal author of the White Paper.

After the experience of the Education Act and a stay of one year in Spain, Blat Jimeno returned to UNESCO until the coming of democracy. When he returned he was appointed head of the technical advisory cabinet of the Minister of Education of the second democratic Government. On the 14th May, 1982 when in that capacity, he kindly conceded an interview to the author. He explained that he had taught as a primary teacher in a small village in Cataluña before the Civil War. In the Franco epoch, when Ruiz Jimenez was Minister, he had become an inspector and after the Minister's removal from office, he had been 22 years with UNESCO, 15 in Paris and 7 in Latin America.

On being asked about the causes which led up to the White Paper, he replied: "The genesis of the White Paper arose because of a series of problems affecting the education system. In order of importance these were: a shortage of school places, children's inattendance at school, illiteracy, class discrimination in access to Higher Education, a system of Primary and Secondary Education coinciding at the same age level. There was no relation between education and the work market. As the economic situation was boyant and the demand for education had increased, the project became feasible." (8)

Undoubtedly the possibility of educational reform raised expectations and attracted considerable interest. The opposition to the Regime, while demanding reform, was very sceptical as to the possibility of the Regime itself being capable of carrying it out. It is of interest to quote some of the opinions, either published outside the country due to censorship and the illegal situation of their authors, or several years later, with reference to the causes of the educational reform. In general, these opinions can be said to represent a range of reactions of those involved in the antiFranco struggle. While they all contain similar elements there are some differences, but perhaps the similarities are more significant as they indicate the cohesion and mutual

agreement in this area of the different forces on the left who were combatting the Regime. They show to what extent the anti Franco opposition in the field of education was aware of the Government's contradictions when proposing reform.

"New necessities gradually began to impose themselves as the end of autarkic methods and the industrialization process introduced a change of direction; and the beginning of contacts with the international organizations who were the authors of European neocapitalism, caused the Public Powers to realize the need for a skilled work force..... The Opus Dei orientation has signified the substitution of "imperialist rhetoric" and its empty propaganda, for a new style demagogy, more intelligent and adapted to the times... The oligarchy finds itself more and more faced with the need to adapt the education system to its own requirements and their spokesmen try to present their reform as a "democratization of the school system." (9)

The proposed reform "represents an attempt to adapt education in Spain to the necessities of monopoly capitalism. Herein resides its progressive character with respect to an education system which corresponded to previous methods of production, but also herein resides its fundamental limitation, that it serves the interest of capital in its monopoly phase and only those interests." (10)

"The take-off and exodus meant a transfer of the working population from the land to industry and the services and an increase in the schooling demand. At the same time skilled work force needs, the demand for a greater number of specialists, required a different type of education and the population felt more and more such a necessity for instruction as a compelling need of its own." (11)

"While the arrival to the Ministry in April 1968 of its new Minister, Villar Palasi meant the beginning of an ambitious project based, in principle, on the conclusions which the research team of the OCDE in their Mediterranean Regional Project had reached in the case of our country." (12)

"Revitalize the ideological State apparatus, which the education system forms part of, adapting it to the new needs for the reproduction of capital with State intervention, industrialization, technical control, mass society, etc. in order to maintain the system of production and reproduction under the best possible conditions for the dominant classes. It figured, undoubtedly, among the most serious attempts to reconquer an ideological hegemony which, by any reckoning, was disintegrating and escaping from the hands - and brains - of the political and economic power block." (13)

The attempt at reform proposed in the White Paper, as we have said, arose from diverse and contradictory causes. This alone, even without taking into account the contradictions within the Regime itself, would inevitably create problems for its instigators. It is maintained that these problems are reflected in the White Paper and indeed, to a large extent, in the interview of the Undersecretary, Blat Jimeno, as will be shown.

To sum up, we may state that the necessity to attempt educational reform arose out of:

- The necessity to bring the ideological apparatus into line with the new technocratic orientation.
- As a response to the pressing demands for more skilled labour which the industrial "boom" had created.
- The need to, at least, window dress the social services, with a view to a closer contact and eventual incorporation into the European scene, basing such changes on the models laid down by OCDE and UNESCO.
- The need to contain the growing social demand for better schooling facilities expressed in the labour struggle, the student movement, the teachers' criticisms and struggle and

signs of critical grouping of parents.

Team of experts

Villar Palasi, in the above mentioned interview, replied to the following question: "The White Paper was one of the most critical documents of the school system. What was the origin of the team who entered so fully into an analysis of Spanish education from 1960 on?" with: "This team was formed to a certain extent with the first people we could find to hand; I tried to chose the best in these circumstances. We tried to offer the job to people who were qualified for it and, at the same time, not blind to the transition which was approaching." (14)

In the interview with Jose Blat Jimeno, he said: "After the Ministerial crisis of 1968, they came for Diez Horchleitner and me, (they were both experts on educational planning, working for UNESCO) and named us, Under Secretary and Assistant Under Secretary. I am not sure if the idea of the White Paper was Villar Palasi's or Horchleitner's. I was asked to draw up a plan. I drew it up after many meetings and consultations with teachers and professors at all levels. It was not easy to collect all the necessary data -

but there was excellent work produced by three or four members of the Ministry. Maillo was one of the principle collaborators."(15)

It is obvious that the work was carried out at enormous speed. It took only four months in all, Blat assured us in the interview and with a considerable degree of precipitation and isolation. For example, on being asked if there had been much collaboration with those who had worked on the former "Planes de Desarrollo", Blat Jimeno replied: "No, we had no connection with the office of the "Plan de Desarrollo", which in any case did not concern itself with education, nor with the Ministry of Industry, nor with other Ministries. There was a lack of coordination and connections."(16) All this would imply a considerable degree of spontaneity as well as, no doubt, the conviction that the whole enterprise was going to meet with opposition within the Government itself and other stratas of the Regime. Whether his denial that the "Planes de Desarrollo" had to do with education was an ironic reference to their ineffectiveness in that field or a genuine mistake, is not known.

Considering the lack of technical facilities, of any tradition of reliable studies and public information and the speed with which it was written, almost all of the final

draft by Blat Jimeno himself, the White Paper is a remarkable achievement, whatever its defects and errors may be, as it gives a reasonably accurate picture of education in Spain at the end of the sixties, which hitherto had never been made available by the administration.

Precise moment of the White Paper's appearance.

The fact that the White Paper, supposedly a document intended to provoke a lively, public debate, was presented during a State of Emergency, when public meetings and the right to criticize were explicitly forbidden, was a contradiction in itself. As a result of the student's reaction to Ruano's death, a signed protest from 1500 intellectuals against the police's treatment of those arrested for political motives, unanimous criticism from the AGMs of the "Colegio de Abogados", official Lawyers Associations, of Madrid and Barcelona of the police treatment of political prisoners in general, continued labour struggles against the salary limits, the most reactionary Ministers, unable to accept so much "subversive" behaviour on so many fronts at once, forced the establishment of a State of Emergency for three months, from January to March. This meant eliminating the very limited existing rights of freedom of speech, ideas, meetings, fixing residence; the obligation on the part of the police to produce warrants for arrest or house searches; the limitation of 72 hours for holding a prisoner without charge. Any cultural organizations of a democratic,

progressive nature were closed. Numerous intellectuals were banished from Madrid and confined in remote villages.

In the month of January, before being closed by the police for the duration of the State of Emergency, a cultural organization in Madrid, "Club de Amigos de la UNESCO", friends of UNESCO Club, having very laboriously, due to the difficult access to information, carried out a limited study of the overall state of education in Spain, published it as a foreward to an edition of the UNESCO document, "Convention against Discrimination in the Sphere of Education". The result was the confiscation by the police of the document and the imposition of a fine of 30,000 pesetas, a considerable sum in those days, on the Club. The Club, as a non governmental association of UNESCO, had a certain standing with the International Organization and its protests at such treatment caused some embarrassment for the Regime. The "subversive" facts published in this document were, in so far as it had been possible to establish them, statistics concerning the number of children without school places, the number of "free" students, that is students who did not attend classes but only presented themselves for examination in State Secondary schools, a denouncement of the dual system of primary and secondary education at the same age level, etc. It is curious to note that the consideration of the publication of such facts as a

punishable action enters into total contradiction with the publication, two months later, of the White Paper and indicates, once more, the internal divisions within the Government on the subject. The Minister of the Interior was a military man, very loyal to Franco and the original ideology of the Regime.

Blat Jimeno in the interview stated: "We were worried about the fact that there was a State of Emergency, to the point that we hesitated whether to publish it or not. But we decided finally to present it and felt that there was sufficient margin for opinion. In retrospect I do not think it made any difference, there was great public interest and response. The book received ample diffusion, 75,000 copies were distributed. It was much commented on in the press. In general, it was favourably received and a great quantity of critical material reached the Ministry which was never analysed nor used subsequently." (16)

The White Paper, Part I.

In the frontispiece of the book appears a quotation from one of Franco's speeches. Blat Jimeno explained in his interview that this was a later correction of the original text in

which he had used a quotation from Seneca to the effect that he addressed the multitude "not as a herd, but one by one, seeking the individual man". However the tone, language and style of the publication did present a refreshing change in the sense that little rhetoric was used, there was very little of the "triumphalism" up to then normal in all official publications and the lay-out presented a practical, technically efficient air. With an attempt to reproduce a tone of frank self-criticism, emphasis was placed on team work and its declared policy was to introduce changes through democratic discussion rather than imposition. This latter aspiration, however expressed, was indeed pure rhetoric given the nature of the Regime and the fact that the book first saw the light of day in a State of Emergency.

Another criticism expressed in the Introduction was that normally whenever the problem of education was dealt with, all attention was focused on the University because it was continually in the news, but "unconsciously the root of many of the defects that can be seen in the University are thus hidden, and are to be found, to a large extent, in earlier levels of education." (17)

There is a reference to the social and economic expansion which Spanish society was undergoing and which proceeded at a faster rhythm than the expansion of the school system. The

purpose of the reform would be to eliminate this gap and introduce a new rhythm. These statements with their supposedly rational, essentially technical approach, produced certain dismay in view of the attempts at instrumentalization of the education system in an earlier, more overtly fascist period and the total state of abandonment in which the school system was to be found. Since the end of the Civil War in 1939 not a single Primary School or "Instituto" secondary school, had been built until 1956 and many had been destroyed during the War and closed after it.

There was a severe attack on the elitist nature of the University. Another discriminatory element, the existence of a dual system at the same age level, Primary education from 6 to 14 and Secondary from 10 to 16, was denounced and it was pointed out how this introduced a considerable distortion in the statistics of school attendance, since many pupils were counted twice, once in each system. The gap created between the two systems and the rigidity of the curriculums made any change from one to another almost impossible. Even the normal changes of progression from one type of education to the following were extremely difficult for the pupils. All content was criticized adversely for its density and the examination system for its excessively selective function. For example, only 50.3% passed the

"Bachillerato Elemental", first three years of secondary education, in 1965/66 and only 42.5% passed the final examination, prior to University level.(18) This drastic selection system was not accompanied by any type of orientation of the pupils towards jobs, careers or future study.

The difference between the rural and urban areas was pointed out, denouncing the lack of attention on the part of the administration and of educational opportunities in the former. Pupils in rural areas were almost certainly condemned to receiving exclusively Primary education.

The analysis admitted that the possibilities of access to education was greatly conditioned by the socio-economic situation of the family and that the existence of parallel systems, private schools for middle and upper class families (here the private private schools in working class areas were not taken into account) and state schools for the "less favoured social sectors."(19)

There was a realistic analysis of the expansion of private schools, concentrated in the urban areas and with marked differences between the different provinces, the richer ones having a greater proportion of private schools.

All of the statistics given in the White Paper were of great interest and were especially illuminating in their moment of publication in view of the difficulties prior to then in obtaining almost any information. Especially interesting were those in the Chapter devoted to the Educational Level of the Population. They showed the rising rolls, the effect of migration, the desolation of the rural areas and the excessive illiteracy, admitting the dubious nature of available figures and the false valoration which had been given to the Literacy Campaign being carried out by the Ministry. As a description this Chapter is important, but very little was said of the increasing social demand for education and the lack of response from the administration.

In the ensuing Chapters devoted to each level of education, the same tonic was to be noted, a clear demonstration of the situation through principally statistical evidence, showing the backward nature of the system in comparison with other European countries and indicating frankly the defects which were known to exist but which could not be demonstrated through lack of figures. The causes, except for certain generalizations - industrial expansion had produced migration, which in turn created a growing demand for education - of the lamentable situation described were not analysed in depth at any point. Frequently value judgements, which inevitably lacked the appropriate historical, social

and political justification produced irritation in the reader.

The most significant statements in relation to each level of education were the following:

- Preschool and Primary: In relation to Preschool education, almost ignored by the State, its necessity was justified for purely social reasons, based on the increasing participation of women in the work force. The great educational importance of this stage was not mentioned and the private sector which took care of more than 60% of the whole, was not analysed. In primary Education the chaotic situation created by the increase of compulsory education from 12 to 14 years in 1964, without any prevision or planning of new school places, the results of internal migration and the population growth was described but perhaps not really appreciated to its full extent. There was good, strong criticism of the curriculum with its emphasis on instruction rather than education and its meagre intellectual content, divorced from reality and from practice, which the White Paper stated produced "deplorable consequences". (20)

The excessive dependence on text books and the inferior quality of many of these were denounced, together with

learning by rote and mechanical memoristic preparation for examinations as examples of the defficient practice carried out in the classroom. Teachers came under fire and were accused of resisting innovation. At this point, their lack of adequate initial training and the total lack of opportunities for in-service training were not mentioned. Neither was the fact that the activities of pedagogic groups interested in introducing new ideas and methodology in education were practically treated as subversives.

In a later paragraph where teacher training was considered, its traditional nature was emphasised, plus the fact that social evolution created new demands on education, which teachers should be prepared to respond to. The lack of attention given to pedagogic formation in the current Plan of Studies, with its emphasis on purely didactic content of the different subjects was severely critisized.

Secondary Education: In the Chapter devoted to this level of education, the great advance in the building of "Institutos" in 1967-68 was noted and the general increase in pupil enrollment during all the decade. Nevertheless the enormous shortage of school places was clearly shown and there was a rather feeble denouncement of the "free " pupils. These were pupils who, at the secondary stage were examined by the official "Instituto", although they received their tuition

or education elsewhere. This "elsewhere" might be, in the rural areas, private classes from the local primary teacher, in urban areas in appalling "colegios de piso", that is private pirate schools set up in flats, with no facilities, overcrowded classes and frequently unqualified and always underpaid teachers. This sordid reality was not brought out in the mild criticism of the injustice.

There was a general admission of a disaster situation in Secondary education where the "Institutos" had been quite swamped by the social demand and had been obliged to improvise everything.

Criticism of the curriculum was summed up as "the distribution of subjects is not sufficiently adapted to the interests, aptitudes and necessities of the different age levels and sufficient attention is not devoted to character education, social education and an orientation on methods of study." (21)

Once again teachers were criticized, although it was admitted and denounced that their formation consisted almost exclusively of "specialized scientific knowledge, ignoring other fundamental aspects such as a capacity for communication; knowledge of the pupils; group work and the most appropriate teaching techniques." (22)

The low salaries, especially in the private sector, were criticized as being a motive for the more gifted teachers leaving teaching and going to other better paid jobs, leaving behind those who were not "outstanding".

A similar criticism of the methodology and general practice in the classroom, lack of team work and pupils' active participation as that expressed in the primary section was made, although the tone was more respectful when dealing with secondary teachers rather than primary teachers.

Another criticism noted was the isolation of the school as an institution, divorced from its social environment.

The space devoted to "Formación Profesional", the only type of schooling to which the Certificate of Primary Studies gave access, was very slight. It was recognised as the Cinderella of the school system, with very little social prestige or practical utility. The premature specialization and the superficiality of the knowledge acquired were held to be the principle causes of this situation.

Higher Education: The first criticism was related to the inefficiency of the methods of access to Higher Education Centres which continued all through the studies in the form

of examinations with an excessively memoristic content. This converted University studies into a species of obstacle race.

In the thirty years preceding the White Paper, University students had increased by four times their number, but the structure and means of the Universities had neither changed nor increased at a similar pace. In spite of this increase the number of students was still low by European standards, and the number of graduates even lower due to the excessively high failure rate.

In general, according to the White Paper, the Universities were overcrowded and lacked all kinds of amenities. The Faculties, divided into Departments, functioned in a totally disconnected and arbitrary fashion. The overcrowded classes received in passive conditions, were simply oral expositions and were tested by memory orientated examinations. Study plans were arbitrarily changed by "Catedráticos", Professors who held Chairs, and Civil Servant status, without any coordination and without taking into account the chronic lack of facilities. There was a total fragmentation of knowledge and no attempt at synthesis. Research, an essential part of University life, was almost non-existent.

In this context the growing discontent of students and

especially the contracted teachers, led inevitably to student agitation. However, the White Paper emphasized the fact that this Government, unlike its predecessors, who were insensible to the grave problems of education, were at that moment especially concerned with the situation. The White Paper also noted that the student protest was not limited to denouncing the defects of the University, but rather denounced problems which affected society as a whole. Among these, it went on to state, there was a minority of political agitators who acted on slogans divorced from University interests.

With regard to the global problem of research, the Paper stated that the fundamental problems were "a lack of connection with the University; a lack of connection with social necessities; excessive attention to scientific subjects of immediate practical application, ignoring the humanities and social sciences; very meagre economic means and the lack of a long-term policy." (23)

On analysing the financing of education there was an explanation of the extraordinarily reduced Budget received by the Ministry of Education and Science, way below the rest of Europe, and only representing at the peak figure of 1966-67, 11.44% of the total Budget. For example, in 1962 Spain spent the equivalent sum in pesetas on each individual

pupil as:

Table 2.

Preschool and Primary	\$23
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Secondary	\$41
-----------	------

University	\$71
------------	------

whereas in 1964 in the U.K the following was spent on each pupil:

Preschool	\$291
-----------	-------

Primary	\$171
---------	-------

Secondary	\$255
-----------	-------

University	\$1,691
------------	---------

(24)

Another noted difference with the rest of Europe was the fact that education was almost totally financed by the Central Administration and the contribution from Local Government only represented a 6,75% of the total cost.

The White Paper indicated the difficulties in assessing the amounts spent on private education, owing to the large number of "pirate" schools (they absorbed 35% of secondary pupils) and the general lack of information from all private schools. However various studies estimated it as 17% of the total cost.

Both the financing and administration of education, which the White Paper denounced as obsolete, corresponded to an outdated view which qualified Primary education for all (an ambition that had never been realized), Higher Education for the elite and Secondary education conceived purely as an access to the former, consequently fulfilling a selective function. As a result the organization was divided up into large sections concerned with the respective levels of education and totally separated from one another. This division into separate and non communicating compartments also applied to the activities and administration of education carried on by other Ministries, especially the Ministry of Labour.

In a subsequent Chapter devoted to demographic and economic factors, the White Paper emphasized that planners would have to take into account: a decline in natural demographic growth, which should take place in the seventies; a gradual

reduction in internal migration; a gradual rise in the standard of living which would produce an increase in the demand for education and the work force required by society.

They stated that the greatest problem would be the correct allocation of the schools in the future building programmes and proclaimed the necessity for planning at local level and a decentralization of the Ministry's functions.

The economic requirements the White Paper predicted would have to increase if the Government were to satisfy the demand, build sufficient schools and improve teachers' working conditions. However it said all this quietly and with little emphasis.

Evaluation of the Critical Analysis in Part I

The first aspect of this criticism which must be pointed out, was the extraordinary impact made by the mass of data, presented in brightly coloured graphs, charts, tables etc, which told the story of the misery of Spain's education system with clarity and frankness. This in itself was of considerable merit.

Secondly the description of content and conditions of teaching, although falling short of reality, was nevertheless a fairly terrible indictment and presented a dramatic picture of gloom.

The weakness of the analysis lay in the fact that the real underlying causes of the situation were not brought out and the historical background was glossed over lightly and superficially. As a consequence no real pattern emerges from the criticism, all problems and defects receive the same treatment, none of them being given special predominance or importance. Nor are the social aspects of this disastrous situation examined and the effect it had on economic growth. The problem was dealt with purely from an educational standpoint. In view of the overall picture of disaster which the White Paper presented, it should have been necessary to emphasize specific elements as being the most urgently needing reform or as being generators of further problems. Naturally to establish such priorities would require a genuine analysis of the causes which obviously, neither the political reality nor the intentions of the authors, would permit. Clearly the opposition from inside the Government which the authors knew even the most limited proposals would provoke, greatly conditioned the content.

As a result, such important problems as the situation of

private schools, ranging from the prestige schools of the most important religious teaching Orders to the miserable pirate schools of the working class areas of the industrial cities, did not receive a serious analysis. The flagrant injustice of the "free pupils" was in no way truly shown up. The impoverished reality of teaching practice was not sufficiently related to the grave insufficiencies of teacher training establishments and to the extraordinarily deteriorated professional conditions of teachers.

So the way was paved with indecision and a lack of clarity towards the second part of the book, the proposal of reform.

Proposal of Reform.

The Reform proposal began by indicating that the structure of schools was basically the same as that established by the "Ley Moyano" in 1857, whereas obviously society was not and was facing into a period of even greater changes. Among the future elements of change it included political changes which would signify a greater public participation and would alter the relationship between the individual and the public powers. Oddly enough the educational requirements to meet such a change were

described as a much greater demand for cadres. Within this process of change it was stated that "ideologies are being called into question" which would seem to echo the slogan of "the death of ideology", launched by Fernandez de la Mora (25) in an attempt to oppose science to ideology and justify the new technocratic approach with which the Regime was trying to cover its fascist origins. Fernandez de la Mora published "El crepúsculo de las Ideologías", The Twilight of Ideologies, in 1965. He formed part of a technocratic Opus tendency and had participated in administration and Government since 1962.

Although new needs were established corresponding to a UNESCO or European pattern, a mention of the Principles of the Movement, the original ideological basis of the Regime, which should inspire all educational activity, was not forgotten. Apart from fairly woolly programmatic declarations, the Reform consisted of a technical description of the changes in structure, well intentioned words about cooperation and collaboration and nothing concrete at all about how all this was to be brought about and financed. Once again the fear of opposition within the Government enforced on the writers a total lack of clarity.

Table 3.

The proposed school structure was as follows:

			Num. of years.
Preschool	2 and 3 yearolds	Infants	2
	4 and 5 yearolds	Preschools	2
General			
Basic			
Education			
EGB.	6 to 10 yrs.	1st Stage	5
	11 to 14 yrs.	2nd Stage	3
Secondary			
BUP	14 to 16 yrs.		3
University			
Preparatory			
Year			
COU	17 yrs.		1
University	18 to 20 yrs.	1st Cycle	3

21 to 22 yrs.	Speciali- zation	2
23 and 24 yrs,	Doctorate	2

Vocational
Training

F.P.	14 to 16 yrs.	Initiation	2
	17 to 18 yrs.	Secondary	2
	18 to 21 yrs.	Higher	3

(26)

All preschool planning was to coincide with the areas where women could participate in large numbers in the work force. This was in no way presented as an urgent priority, but rather as a gradual process of matching the offer of school places to the demand created by women going out to work.

One of the most positive aspects of the Reform, the creation of a common basic education for all (EGB) was accompanied by an interesting addition to the curriculum, the learning of "vernacular languages". Since the Civil War, the national

languages Basque, Catalan, Gallego and Valencian (a dialect of Catalan) had been severely repressed. Blat Jimeno, in the above mentioned interview, considered it a triumph to have managed with great difficulty, to introduce the teaching of these "vernacular languages" as they were termed. The team of writers obviously encountered great opposition. They were to be introduced as subjects, a matter of cultural recuperation, and in no case to be recognised as languages spoken by the people through which all subjects could be taught.

Another important innovation was the elevation of teacher training courses and Colleges to Higher Education status, requiring the completion of secondary education, BUP, and subsequently the final University Preparatory Course, COU, as entrance qualifications. There was to be a long period of adaptation for practising Primary teachers and a creation of specializations. A new institution, the "Instituto de las Ciencias de Educación", the Institutes of Science of Education, were to organize and control Primary teachers in-service training.

In secondary education, the various "Bachilleratos" previously in existence were to be unified, although certain options should be established. Also there should be subjects/activities with a practical content. Again the

"vernacular languages" were admitted as a subject. The greatest emphasis should be placed on language and mathematics. Considerable importance was given to religious and moral training. In the interview, Blat Jimeno stated that their proposals for Secondary education were very much influenced by the Italian and British Comprehensive School models.

The general pedagogic orientation for both Primary and Secondary was towards active, pupil-interest centered teaching which should take into account environment and foment pupil participation. There should be a certain degree of school autonomy.

Secondary teachers should receive their preparation in the Universities, followed by a year's pedagogic training organized by the above mentioned "Institutos de Ciencias de Educación". After that they should carry out a year of practical experience before presenting themselves for the competitive examination, "oposición" which would turn them into permanent teacher-civil servants.

Gradually as the building programme progressed, the status of "free" pupils should be eliminated.

In the University the main innovation was to be short

courses or Cycles, with
qualifying Diplomas at the end of three years and the
introduction of departments.

There was to be a more rational form of selection which
would relate the number of students to be admitted to a) the
capacity of the Faculty or Department concerned, b) the
future openings in the respective professions or research
fields. Student participation, up to that moment (and
indeed after it) a matter of public order to be severely
repressed, was to be regulated.

The situation of the University teaching staff was to be
stabilized, with the establishment of Professors and
Assistant Professors who would obtain their posts by
"oposición", which admitted them to the teaching body as
civil servants and who would be subsequently selected and
appointed by the different Universities. Another type of
Professor was contemplated, that of contracting
professionals, distinguished in their field, on a part time
basis.

In relation to the private sector, especially in primary, a
system of grants in accordance to the degree in which
schools attended to the less favoured groups of society, and
at the same time maintained desirable levels of efficiency

and quality, were to be organized.

Both the State Union, mentioned in singular, and parents who should organize themselves in Parent Associations, (APA) were to have a role to play in the administering and running of the schools.

Evaluation of the Proposal of Reform.

The proposals of reform, from the initial definition of aims and objectives to the more concrete descriptions of a new structure and content, suffer from a tremendous ambiguity and nebulousness. There are proposals, many of them excellent, which float in the air without ever being brought down to earth by the weight of a realistic programme of ways and means. The pleasing phrases about the future, lack any sense of time and place, there are no lists of priorities, no determined periods of application and no explanation of the economic and administrative support it would require.

It is in this part of the White Paper is where one most misses the voice of those responsible for the daily tasks of education, the teachers. There are no practical, down to earth solutions offered for the immense task of transforming

the grim reality described in the first part of the book, into the ethereal promises of the second part. Reading it produces a complete sensation of let-down, of frustration and fatalism. There is the definite sensation that this is a reform on paper, doomed to failure.

The most significant omissions are:

- a realistic programme of necessities in school places
- a realistic programme of necessities in teachers including concrete proposals for reducing the teacher-pupil ratio, specialist requirements etc.
- a radical reform in the content of teacher training
- a realistic, concrete programme for in-service training
- concrete proposals of economic needs to put into effect the reform, with a calendar of application and specific claims for priority in the Budget.
- a concrete proposal for the decentralization of the planning requirements of both school places and teachers
- a much more precise definition of the aims and objectives of each educational stage
- a precise plan of improvement of school facilities, furniture, educational equipment, libraries, sports fields, etc. with priorities and calendar of

application included

- concrete proposals of how to bring teachers into the whole process of reform, through discussion groups, consultations, in-service training, etc.
- proposals of administrative decentralization and a far greater implication of local authorities
- a specific plan devoted to the culturally depressed areas, in an effort to introduce realistic measures of equality, a specific plan for rural areas
- a realistic study of the role of the private sector and to what extent and under what terms it should receive State aid
- proposals for just and efficient means of selecting students for Higher Education
- concrete proposals, including means of financing for a scholarship system to make access to Higher Education more open to all who meet the academic requirements
- methods by which the University places can relate to social necessities in qualifications for different types of work

The unrealistic air of the last forty three pages, as opposed to the unaccustomed frankness of the preceding two hundred, can only respond to the great insecurity felt by

the team of experts as to the viability of their proposals.

Blat Jimeno said in the interview, "It was an attempt, the best one could do in that epoch, in an area so subject to pressures from the FERE, employers' organization of religious order schools, and from all sides. All things considered, it was a very advanced attempt." (27)

However it must be emphasized that whereas in Part I there is a section devoted to the financing of education, this section is omitted in Part II. In Part I the following criticism was made; "For some years, Spanish society has been demanding more school places, but owing to financial limitations, it has not been possible to create these places. Besides, this social demand for education will continue to be brought to bear strongly on our education system. For this reason it will not only be necessary to improve the situation of teachers at all levels, but to foresee a great expansion of the system. This will bring about an important increase in the proportion of the total expenditure on education with regard to the National Income and, as a consequence, it will be absolutely necessary to dispose of greater Budget resources, as it will be necessary to cover, within a relatively short period of time, the infrastructural gap which can be observed at present in our system of education in comparison with other

countries."(28). In spite of this clear statement, no suggestions are made concerning the solutions to be found, in the second part of the Paper. Obviously the authors were obliged to proceed with caution and let the bitter pill of the overall criticism be digested, before entering into the grim realities of economic necessities. These would come in the first draft of the Bill and their content and what happened to them, will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The importance of the workers' movement and the manner in which, in spite of the lack of any political freedoms, it was managing to spread out from the vanguard and permit moments of mass action, has been shown to have alarmed the Government and produced contradictory reactions. On the one hand the traditional recourse to repression, while on the other accept such initiatives as the proposed education reform. It is clear that the fissures in what had been a monolithic block of support for the Regime within various institutions and social groups, was greatly influenced by the growing labour agitation which could gravely affect their economic interests.

The influence of the student agitation and automatic

repression has also been shown to have gravely attacked the Regime. The fact that, in many cases the sons and daughters of the very families who had "won the war" and since then supported the Regime, were the students who entered into daily battle with the police on the University campus and suffered the repression in a most direct way, created great confusion and produced considerable contradictions for these very families. On the other hand, the fact that the severe repression of the student movement immediately politicized it and the importance of its relations with the workers movement and its assumption of their aspirations, made it another key factor in producing the Regime's contradictory response.

The Reform which implied a complete overhauling of the school system, bringing it into line with other European countries' practice was going to cost a great deal, clash with certain conservative and fascist positions and for this reason the politicians and experts who supported it, however conservative by European standards they might appear to be, nevertheless knew they were going to run into heavy opposition, hence their timidity in the analysis of the causes and their vagueness in the final Reform proposals. The failure of the World Banks' Project in Galicia, mentioned in the last chapter, was indicative of the enormous difficulties the task implied.

In the next Chapter the reaction to the White Paper both inside the Regime and in the opposition will be studied and the validity of the thesis of internal opposition crippling the reform process tested.

Notes.

1. Ministerio de Educación, La educación en España. Bases para una política educativa, Madrid, Servicio de publicaciones MEC, 1969
Page 84.
2. Tuñón de Lara et al, Op. cit. Vol X. Page 270.
3. Ministry of Labour, Informe sobre conflictos colectivos de trabajo y política laboral, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones Min. de Trabajo, 1973.
4. Camacho. "Cuadernos para el Dialogo" 1964.
Atocha is a district in Madrid, a neuralgic transport centre, close to a factory area.
"Cuadernos para el Dialogo" was a review edited by the ex Minister of Education,

Ruiz Jimenez, of progressive Catholic ideas,
which opened its pages to communists,
socialists and antifranquists in general.

5. "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" Barcelona. May
1980.
6. Ibid.
7. Ministerio de Educación, Historia de la
Educación, Vol. 2 Page 241.
8. Author's notes.
9. Enseñanza en España, Published for the
Spanish Communist Party in France in 1970.
A collective book written in underground
conditions in Spain by members of the Party
who were teachers. Col. Ebro, Page 15.
10. Bozal et al. Op. cit. Page 42.
1975. The authors were teachers associated
with the "Colegio de Licenciado's" journal
11. Martinez Pereda et al, La Enseñanza ante un
futuro democrático, Madrid, Ayuso, 1977. Page 17.

The three authors were teachers, activists in the teachers' struggle and members of the C.P.

12. Medina, La lucha por la Educación en España 1770 - 1970, Madrid, Ayuso, 1977. Page 136.
13. Tuñón de Lara et al. Op. cit. Page 508.
14. "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" Barcelona. May 1980.
15. Author's notes.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Min. Educación y Ciencia, La Educación en España. Bases para una política educativa, Madrid 1969. Page 9.
19. Ibid. Page 65.
20. Ibid. Page 25
21. Ibid. Page 46

22. Ibid. Page 67.
23. Ibid. Page 70.
24. Ibid. Page 104.
25. Ibid. Page 171.
26. Fernandez de la Mora, became Minister of Public Works in the Opus Dei Government of 1969 and was a diplomat and journalist, considered one of the ideologists of the technocratic phase of Francoism.
27. Ministerio de Educación, La Educación en España, Page 210.
28. Author's notes.
29. Ibid. Page 177.

Part One. Education in Franco's Spain.

Chapter Four. The Education Bill of 1970.

Introduction

In this Chapter, through a study of the original draft of the Bill and the subsequent changes and reductions it suffered on its way through the "Cortes", it is intended to show how the opposition which the authors of the Bill met with was considerable. The different pressure groups within the Regime are examined and their motives for opposing what were, in effect, the essential aspects of the Bill.

The farsical nature of the so called "parliamentarian" debate is shown, but at the same time, how it represented the different elements that made up the Regime, each of whom were in different stages of development or disintegration.

The principal opponent was the Church, in itself, of course, a complex institution and no longer a monolithic block. The most important issue was the financing of the Bill and the Church also introduced the controversial theme of grants for private schools, which was to represent their

defence from what they feared would be an attack on their control of education. The participation of the "FERE", the employers' organization of religious order schools in the debate was significant in this respect. The Falange were fighting a losing battle to retain their influence, in any case considerably weakened, in education. In their reactions to this Bill, it is maintained, their intrinsically reactionary, totalitarian, fascist attitudes come through.

Reaction and criticism from the anti-Franco opposition, mainly from teachers, are studied. These obviously suffered all the limitations on freedom of speech, but nevertheless, it is shown that through different means they managed to express and articulate a critical movement against the reactionary aspects of the Bill.

The Bill was an attempt at modernization within the limited terms of the technocratic government of the day. It represented, as all the period of the sixties, an attempt at survival on the part of the Fascist Regime, by adapting itself to modern European capitalist conditions, yet, this thesis maintains, the inherent contradictions which it bore because of its very authoritarian nature, made this adaptation impossible. The period of the sixties also represented a new emergence of an active opposition which further threatened the survival of the Franco Regime. This

latter aspect, in the case of teachers, is merely announced and will form the substance of the second part of this thesis.

The different "families" within the Franco Regime

Once the White Paper had been presented and a supposed period of discussion and consultation, which as we have said coincided in part with a state of emergency, had taken place, the Education Bill was drawn up and presented in the Cortes, or substitute Parliament, on the 10th October, 1969. In spite of the difficult conditions and lack of political freedoms, many criticisms, as Blat Jimeno pointed out in the interview (1), were received from different quarters, both within the Regime and from the opposition.

In 1970, the Government was still dominated by the Opus Dei, nevertheless other pressure groups within the Regime still had considerable possibilities of exercising their influence and rendering sterile any, however timid, attempts at modernization. The proposed reform of education definitely came under such a category and affected a particularly sensitive zone from an ideological and political point of view.

The exceptional characteristics of the fascism of Franco's

Regime were caused by its lengthy duration, its capacity for survival. This meant that it went through various stages, which are generally accepted as having been the totalitarian period up to the end of the II world war, the consolidation of the dictator's power up until 1960 and the last period which continued up to Franco's death in 1975, which may be termed technocratic franquism. Through all these periods Franco retained his control, in spite of the different elements which supported and participated in the Regime. "The ultimate source of his power arose from his astute management of the "families" or power groups of the coalition which won the Civil War. Franco's tortuous indifference involved them in byzantine struggles to obtain parcels of power, while he named and dismissed ministers with cruel aloofness, always keeping as his fundamental objective that of maintaining his position as the superior arbitrator among the "families". (2)

The necessity to accept modern capitalist conditions and enter the European scene, caused the technocratic phase but obviously could not eradicate nor contradict the very nature of the Regime. "It was an attempt to change some matters from within the Regime itself and from the openly confessed permanence of the principles and theories on which it rested. Undoubtedly, this was very difficult to fit in with the real changes which society had undergone and even with

what suited the now dominant interests. The technocratic, consumer capitalism had aspired, deep down, to maintaining, with all the reinforcement necessary, the authoritarian nature of the system, but leaving to one side, or even throwing overboard a large part of the former ideological ingredients and of the political mechanisms on which they rested. But because of the mixture, (of "families").....this was not possible, or at least, not entirely so. The modernizing capitalism ceased to be so, to a large extent, precisely because of the necessity to go on supporting the load which these mechanisms represented and which the apparatus of the Movement managed to defend, over and over again." (3)

The different elements which made up franquism were, of course, the Army, the Church and the different political families, or little groups which revolved around the central figure of the Dictator and were often played off one against the other, by him. These groups or families represented different sections of money, industry, landowners, etc. In this period of the sixties, the main weight and ideological influence in the dominant block "still show the crushing consequences of the integrist (dyed-in-the-wool fascists) militarists and technocrats". (4) The ruling bourgeoisie continued to demonstrate their traditional debility and capacity to fulfill their historical tasks, too often taken

over by the army. While they began to disintegrate into various groups, many conscious of the necessity to foresee the end of the dictatorship, however, none had sufficient clarity of vision or energy to prepare themselves and the country's institutions for the future.

Within the fascist groups were the integrists, who formed small bands ready for violent action whenever necessary and who frequently harassed members of the opposition, destroyed progressive bookshops, art galleries and so on. They proclaimed themselves enemies of Marxism, Separatism and Liberalism. Institutionally some of these groups were formed under the leadership of Blas Piñar, a member of the Cortes named by Franco and others were loosely connected with the National Confederation of Excombatants, led by the ex Minister, Jose Antonio Girón. The most important of these bands in Madrid called themselves the "Guerrilleros of Christ the King". They were particularly active in the University, in working class districts and against progressive members of the Church. The organ of expression which represented these most violent Fascist groups was the daily national newspaper "El Alcazar".

The National Movement which was created to form the one party of the Regime in 1959, substituted the Falange Party as such, although many groups of Falange still tried to

reform their old party. The Movement was supported mainly by the Falangists "who held posts in the bureaucracy of the State, Vertical State Unions, Ministry of Labour, etc. (5)

There were three groups who attempted to reform the Falange and claim direct inheritance of the name and ideology of its founder, Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera. The first of these, "Frente Nacional Español", Spanish National Front, led by Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, was the most right wing of the new Falange and their programme was based on the original Fundamental Laws still in force.

The next, "Circulo Doctrinal de Jose Antonio", Doctrinal Circle of Jose Antonio, "could be classified, in comparison with the former, as an FE (Falange Española) of the "centre". (6) They attempted to connect with the anarchists.

The last group consisted of the "left" of the Falange. These professed populist, "revolutionary" theories and some of them were in the process of evolution towards social democrat positions and towards contacts and participation in the anti-Franco, democratic opposition.

There was another political formation made up of conservative Catholics which dated from before the Civil War, the "Asociación Católica Nacional de

Propagandistas, ANCP", National Catholic Association of Propagandists, who controlled the National Catholic Association of Parents and the Centre of University Studies. They supported the most reactionary elements in the Church and their organ of expression was the daily national newspaper "Ya". They achieved important influence from 1945 on. "The importance of the ANCP, vouched for by its previous historical record, was able to increase and strengthen itself because of two very different factors. The first had its origin in the failure of the single Spanish Party to reach its objectivesThe Falange not only did not monopolise the political elite, but it was obliged to share the control of the Press and especially the education system, in an inferior position to the Church, and it was also incapable of carrying out the "Gleichschaltung" of Spanish society, that is, the process by which the party would emerge as the only means of communication between the State and society. Directly linked with this failure, the second important factor in relation to the ANCP consists in the extraordinary historical role played by the Church in relation to the legitimization of the new regime; the consecration of the Civil War as a Crusade and the consequent application of National-Catholicism to all aspects of the New State are sufficiently significant expressions." (7)

Of course Opus Dei, in power in Government, was the group with most influence: "Their influence reaches beyond the sect, due to the articulation of traditional religious content with the "modernity" of technocratic forms. The cult of "efficiency" and the apparent "dispolitization" and "lack of ideology" which its members pretend to sustain, are elements which they are developing and may still make greater inroads among the economically dominant classes: because they comprehend that the classical formulas of fascism and dictatorship no longer serve them and that nowadays a technocratic approach as a new type of ideology and fascist practice may be more useful."(8)

Up until about 1960, the Church as an Institution and the majority of its members supported the Franco Regime, but from then on, beginning with individuals, then groups of the younger clergy began to break away from such acquiescence and adopted openly critical positions. They expressed their solidarity with the workers and the democratic struggle and indeed provided cover and shelter, in so far as was possible, in their churches for meetings and activities of a clandestine nature. However, very quickly the police ceased to respect the immunity of the churches, "The distancing of the Church from the Franco Regime basically happened for one reason: the fact that the "aggiornamento" begun by the Spanish Church, although belated and incomplete, formed a

comparatively renewed and progressive church or, at least, open to a pluralist conception of life and society, and for this reason, incompatible with the authoritarian and anti-democratic principles of the State. This (process)...was the Church's response to the secularization of society and the internal crisis of the Church itself in that epoch, processes which received official sanction in the reforming purpose of Popes John XXIII and Paul VI, and which were laid down in the II Vatican Council. In Spain, the renewal of the Church took place after, and not before, this Council, although an important part of the grass roots of the Spanish Church had already shown their desire for change before that event." (9) Such attitudes reached members of the hierarchy, to such an extent that by the end of the Regime the Institution could not be said to be supporting it. In a sermon, the Bishop of Bilbao in 1969, Monseñor Cirarda said: "We are in the first really serious conflict which has broken out between the Church and the Spanish State during the thirty years of this Regime, a conflict whose consequences are difficult to foresee." (10).

All this did not mean of course, that there were not many individual attitudes of pro-Franco Bishops and priests, and organizations, apart from the above mentioned political ones, like the FERE, the employers' organization of religious order schools, who held profoundly conservative

views and were determined to preserve their position of privilege in the school system.

A complex problem which had existed before became more acute through the passing of the Education Act and this was the State funding of private schools.

This already existed as can be seen from the information given in March 1968, in answer to a "procurador's" question in the "Cortes", by the, then, Minister of Education, Lora Tamayo: the State subventions to education conceded to private or Autonomous institutions, represented 11% of the Ministry of Education's budget during the past two years, that is 1966 and 1967. The autonomous institutions referred to belonged to the Feminine Section of Falange, the Youth Front of Falange and the Vocational Schools of the Vertical State Union. (11) This information appeared in "Alcazar" the ultra right Falange newspaper, which nevertheless was in favour of a grant being given to the Opus University in Navarra, which was the question being debated at the time.

The year before, in 1967, the Vertical National Union of Teachers had drawn up a proposal for a Bill, referring to State Funding for non State education (this euphemism of "non State" was preferred to private), in which they opted for equality in the Ministry's financing of State and private schools. The President, Iglesias Selgas, stated: "By

establishing a system of grants our country will enter into a process which has become quite generalized in free Europe and which, at the same time assures teachers a dignified economic status, facilitates social integration and makes the principle of freedom (of choice) in education and its democratisation effective." (12) Curiously enough in this matter, the Falangists and the Church were in agreement. Of course the "FERE" formed an important pressure group within the Vertical Teaching Union and were, in this case, the most interested party.

Already in December 1967 the "FERE" had celebrated their X Congress under the title "Democratisation of Education" which, in their terms meant giving the private schools the same advantages as the State ones. In an interview, one of the priests who delivered a paper in this Congress, on being asked what he understood by democratising education replied: "We understand the democratising as an opening to all social classes and social-economic groups. This demands change on the part of the schools, the families and the State with regard to mentality, the schools' structure, selection criteria, greater cooperation between the State, Church and society, a search for new funding formulas and even, a change of mentality with regard to the Budget which in Spain continues to be small in education in comparison with other countries of a similar economic and social

development. All these themes are what the Congress has discussed and is trying to solve." (13) In a previous question when the journalist suggested that there existed certain criticism and a popular belief that religious order schools only catered for the rich, he evaded the issue by saying that there were no reliable studies on the question.

The "FERE's" Congress did come to some very explicit conclusions on this matter: "2. To achieve an integral democratisation, it is necessary to safeguard parents' liberty to choose, in accordance with natural law, the school they prefer in conscience for the education of their children. This cannot be achieved as long as the National Budget for education is not shared out as justice demands, proportionally and equitatively, between State and private schools. 3. Private initiative, which enjoys a primary right, should be safeguarded, while the State should maintain a subsidiary and supplementary role, excluding all that might lead, directly or indirectly, to an educational monopoly. In order to stimulate private initiative the State should facilitate credits in favourable conditions for the creation of new schools especially in the most needy areas." (14)

It was clear that the "FERE" was going to make an out and out fight for as big a share of the Budget as possible. This

represented their method of survival and conserving their privileged position in education. It can be said that it was the modern version of the continual struggle between the Church and the progressive forces in Spain. It also demonstrates that they were very conscious of the fact that changes would inevitably come and so it was expedient to prepare their stand which would adapt to new conditions. In the 1970 Act, State funding was formally recognised and no system of control was established. These schools received three types of grants, a 100%, 80% or 60% and in all cases could still charge the parents fees, although in the case of a 100% the quantity was stipulated. The teachers continued to be badly paid and more money was made out of "extras" such as the dining rooms, central heating, transport, classes of music, dancing, foreign languages, etc. The real fallacy of this democratisizing theory was, of course, that the "FERE's" schools were only to be found in good residential areas where the pupils they catered for lived. In no case could they provide a solution to an attempt at total schooling. The possibility of "free choice" of schools was limited to the few. This battle was to be fought out in every platform available. The Teachers' movement had to be very aware of it, as it was true that the private school places were necessary, in view of the lack of State places and also a large number of the teachers themselves were employed in them.

The "Cortes"

In the Government formed by Franco in 1969, 7 Ministers were members of Opus Dei and there were no significant Falangists. The tendency was to name executives of important firms or experts from the Administration, all of whom represented the bourgeoisie of high finance.

The Cortes had renewed some of its members in 1967. Franco had personally appointed 40 new members, who represented all the different generations and teams who had been associated with the centres of power in the different stages of franquism. However the novelty was the holding of elections for the "family" representatives. These were restricted elections, without any democratic guarantees. These elections awoke little interest and were boycotted by the opposition. The abstention rates reached 35% in Madrid, 60% in Vizcaya and 65% in Guipuzcoa, the last two, provinces of the Basque country. (15)

At the time when the Bill reached the Cortes, it was made up of the following members, or "procuradores en Cortes" as they were called:

Table 1.

For the State Vertical Trade Union -	146 members = 26.6%
Local Government -	115 members = 21%
Family representatives -	108 members = 19,7%
National Councillors * -	55 members = 10%
Designated by Franco -	71 members = 13%
Professionals * -	22 members = 4%
Higher Civil Servants -	31 members = 5.7%

(16)

* The first were elected by the various associations that made up the National Movement and the latter by the respective Professional Colleges, "Colegio de Licenciados", etc.

The original text which was presented was faithful to the White Paper. It provoked great interest and a most unusual intensity of activity in the Cortes. Very quickly 1,116 amendments were presented, an unprecedented number, which subsequently grew and grew, until finally reaching the figure of 5.109 by the 12th February, 1970.

Reactions to the Bill

There were immediate public reactions as was reflected by the press of the day. On the 19th October, 1969, "Nuevo

Diario" (17) published a report on the Bill, pointing out its positive and negative aspects, and in subsequent editions, growing speculation about who should form the "ponencia" or group of members of the Cortes who would defend the Bill and enter into discussion on the amendments, first at committee level, subsequently in plenary sessions of the Cortes.

Again on the 4th November the same paper's editorial was based on the crucial point of the financing of the Bill. It criticised a transitory disposition which laid down a series of measures which, in effect, amounted to a fiscal reform, stating that, while the fiscal system was far from perfect, the Education Bill's financing could not be converted into an instrument of fiscal reform. It must be either one thing or the other.

On the 1st November there was a statement from the Episcopal Commission of Education in which they stressed the following:

- the need for preserving private schools' autonomy
- the need to avoid a state monopoly in education
- the need to respect the Church's educational function
- the need to place private teachers' salaries and work conditions on the same level as state

teachers.

Reaction from the teaching and other professions and their organizations

On the 10th November, the body of State Primary Headmasters, whose existence was threatened by the Bill, made a statement expressing their concern over such drastic measures.

On the 11th November, the "Asociación de Catedráticos de Instituto", State Secondary Teachers' Association, published a report on the Bill. This Association was one of those which formed part of the National Movement, in so far as its statutes and official existence were concerned. However several democrats and teachers actively participating in the opposition to the Regime, managed to get themselves elected by their fellow teachers to the leadership of this association and could introduce progressive ideas. It was difficult, nevertheless, to change a body of opinion in an organization whose functions were essentially conservative.

This report adopted a far more critical tone than their former report published on the White Paper. Their criticism commenced by expressing "our reserves on the condition of the consultations and the vagueness of the basis of the future reform have now been converted into serious fears

that the Bill will not achieve the generous objectives set out in the preamble." (18) The feeling expressed was that the position which they had saluted as positive and generous in the White Paper had now become "an attitude of mere rhetoric".

Their main criticism was that too many aspects, such as the relationship between teacher and pupil, the number of pupils per class, how schools should be organized, etc. were left undefined, to be dealt with by further legislation.

Throughout all their report there is a continuous criticism of the lack of real consultation with teachers, in particular, of course, with State Secondary teachers through their Association. The lack of a genuine democratising in the reform is seen by the fact that head teachers and posts of responsibility, far from being elected, are all named by the Ministry.

According to this report, education is regarded as an object for consumption rather than an investment, although in the White Paper itself there had been no mention of this aspect. The basic questions, which according to the Secondary State Teachers' report on the White Paper, should be guaranteed, such as limits of timetables and numbers of pupils per class, were ignored.

There was noted a definite tendency towards a technocratic approach, giving precedence to vocational preparation, rather "than attending to the humanistic preparation" of each individual".

The report also showed resentment at the fact that classes which formerly corresponded to them (the former "Bachillerato Elemental", lower secondary, 12 to 14 years) and in general, to graduate teachers, according to the Bill would pass to the hands of Primary teachers. This, together with the fact that the organization of the schools in which the teaching of these levels would take place, would inevitably become that of a Primary school, were regarded as a retrogression and a deterioration of academic standards.

The concession of homologation to private schools for purposes of pupil evaluation would give them the same standing as State Schools, it was felt, while lacking the guarantees the entrance system for State teachers ("oposiciones") gives the latter, in the opinion of the Association.

The criticism also included suggestions for reorganizing the methods of access to the profession for State teachers, which really constituted a defence of the existing system of

competetive exams, although there were certain proposals for rationalizing the said "oposiciones".

In general, their criticism is based very much on an elitist professional point of view, strongly influenced by a well defined "esprit de corp", but nevertheless showing a serious concern for the quality of teaching and an endeavour to achieve better professional and economic conditions for all teachers.

On the 13th November, the Matute Report, a study organized by the "Instituto de Ingenieros Civiles de España", the Spanish Institute of Civil Engineers, was issued. This organization, at national level, was very conservative and pro-Regime, although at local levels in Madrid and Barcelona the opposition gained great influence at this time. The Matute report, thus named for the President of the association, was the only official, pro Regime organization which appeared to be in complete contradiction with the premises of the Education Bill, since it attempted to demonstrate that Spain did not require more graduates but rather "técnicos de grado medio", technicians with a lower level of studies. It showed alarming figures of graduate unemployment. For example, it demonstrated that 70% of all physics graduates who had finished their studies between 1945 and 1965, had emigrated. (19)

In January 1970, the Vertical State Union of Teachers' executive held a meeting in which they defended the situation of private schools, to a certain extent threatened by the impending Bill, in their opinion. They declared themselves to be in support of the State occupying a subsidiary position in relation to private enterprise in education. A great deal of pressure was being exercised by the Falange and the conservative elements of the Church within the State Union to increase their criticism of the Bill.

The "FERE", the Employers' organization of religious order schools, held its XII National Congress under the title "Towards the reform of our schools". Behind a possible progressive interpretation of this title, in line with the II Vatican's criticism of elitist religious order schools, lay a stern defence of the privileged conditions enjoyed by their schools. Another powerful body lent its weight to the pressures the Bill was receiving.

On the eve of the debate

A series of delays in the commencing of the debate showed the difficulties the Ministerial team was already encountering. The debate should have begun on the 16th

Februrary, but did not. Then it was announced for the 3rd March. On the 12th February a fresh delay was announced, by then there were 5,109 amendments, and on the 4th March the names of the "procuradores" who were to organize the debate in three different committees were announced. On the 11th March the debate was again posponed until April; the committee presented its initial report and on the 2nd April the debate finally commenced.

Throughout this period the activity around the Bill was considerable. The different pressure groups never let up in their efforts to block the progress of what they considered a dangerous challenge. The Vertical State Teachers' Union, the "FERE", Religious Order Schools Organization, and the Bishops were particularly active, while the daily newspaper "Nuevo Diario" kept demanding that the process of discussion on the Bill should be accelerated.

Reactions of the Ministerial team

As the then Minister stated in the interview of 1980,(20) on being asked to comment on the most outstanding aspects of the Bill, "I would refer back to the White Paper, in it was the spirit of the Reform. As far as the Education Act is concerned, they backed down on its financing. The draft was called "Education reform and the financing of the Reform".

It contained an estimation in constant pesetas, calculated very exactly, of the running costs, new installations, new increases in salaries, etc.....and another part of the fiscal reform which coincided, and it was no coincidence, with the subsequent fiscal reform. ...These two parts, fundamental to the Reform were eliminated in the Cortes". On being asked who was responsible for this, he replied diplomatically, "Generally when one tries to get things right and one does not belong to any group, the ideas are maintained but the supports removed". On being pressed further and asked if the Church had anything to do with it, he replied, "Really that is one opinion. In any case it is sufficient to go over the list of the Committee of Finance and the Budget Committee: that is where the answer to your question as to who were the instigators of the instructions to torpedo this aspect of financing lies....,paradoxically it was called the Bill "for the reform and financing of education" ...But in the new proposal of a fiscal system ... the financing disappeared."

When asked what he thought of the accusation that the Bill was economically and ideologically based on international capitalistic ideas, through the World Bank, he said: "Look here, "intelectus apretatus"! When you cannot find money in Spain, you look elsewhere. INI, "Altos Hornos", RENFE, (21) were doing the same thing. Where could a modest Minister of

Education go, if he could not find money?" He expressed his disillusion with, "Perhaps the expectations were exaggerated, but the draft Bill was coherent, its costing was precise. Free schooling would have been reached if the financial support had been maintained. I do not mean necessarily exactly as it was expressed in the draft. When that support failed, to speak of free schooling is to speak of Plato, of ideal worlds, of Utopia." (22)

As Blat Jimeno said in his interview, "On converting the draft into an Act, the financing failed." He referred to the attitudes of the newspaper "Ya", voice of the ACNP, Catholic propagandists, and of an article by Emilio Romero in "Pueblo" (23) as typical of the pressures which were brought to bear on the financing of the Bill.

Reactions of the opposition

Throughout all this period, the opposition to the Regime also sought to express their opinions in relation to the Bill, using the few legal platforms to which they had achieved access. The following show the more significant criticisms, either because they reached a larger audience or because they were especially representative of the most active sections of the anti Franco opposition's opinions.

On the 11th February a debate on the Bill was held in the Madrid Chamber of Commerce and among the speakers was, most unusually, the socialist teacher, Luis Gomez Llorente. (24) Other participants included, a member of the Ministry, a Jesuit member of the FERE, a Falange "procurador" and the National President of the State Secondary Teachers' Association. Newspaper accounts describe the meeting as tense and full of expectation.

The President of the State Secondary Teachers Association explained that he had, with great difficulty, obtained figures and information on the location of religious order private schools which showed their geographical and sociological distribution. He demonstrated that they attended to areas which were inhabited by the higher bracket income families.

The epilogue, "a most unusual epilogue", was Luis Gomez Llorente's intervention, which criticised the undemocratic process, the lack of discussion, the FERE's strength as a pressure group which, also within the Vertical State Union of Teachers, defended situations of privilege.

On the 2nd March, the Parents' Association of a Madrid State Primary school, the first of the new type to have been formed, based on the White Paper without waiting for the

Education Bill to become reality, presented a document which was a criticism of the Bill's deficiencies and especially of the fact that it retained a discriminatory situation by permitting two different types of diplomas at the end of the compulsory primary schooling period at 14 years.

On that same day, the Annual Assembly of the "Colegio de Licenciados", Graduate teachers Association, took place, in which one of the graduates presented a petition for Amnesty, amidst the enthusiastic applause of a large part of the audience and violent protests from the rest.(25)

On the 7th March the "Club de Amigos de la UNESCO" presented a criticism of the Bill, made from the standpoint of the UNESCO "Convention against discrimination in Education". The study showed that the Bill did not comply with all the democratic requirements laid down by the Convention, citing the examples of the dual diploma at the end of EGB, the different categories of schools in one single level of studies and the lack of sufficient state schools.

On the 14th March, the Workers' Council in Valencia, a part of the Vertical State Union's structure, to which members of the illegal Workers Commissions had achieved election, adopted a motion expressing a progressive, critical attitude to the Bill.

Another document of criticism was drawn up in December 1969 and subsequently signed by over 200 PNN (contracted University teachers). They commenced by pointing out that the initial document, the White Paper, appeared at a moment when University life was greatly restricted by the state of emergency and that similar conditions still existed due to the permanent presence of the police in their lecture halls. The lack of effective consultation, both of students and of the teaching staff was criticised. The document expressed the theory that the Bill had been drawn up, not to satisfy people's demands for education, but to meet the needs of the system of production. They stated that the Bill was simply the application of the Development Plan's ideology to education and did no more than establish an education model, leaving all the measures required to put it into effect to subsequent regulation which the Ministry would dictate as required.

The new institution, the ICE, "Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación", Institute of Educational Science, was criticised as an ambiguously defined, yet all powerful institution, which they felt was intended to give Government control over the University.

In general, they classified the Bill as elitist, because it

designed new methods of selectivity throughout the school career, authoritarian in not setting up a process of student/teacher participation, especially in the University, and, due to inadequate funding, doomed to failure even in its declared modest ambitions.

This document ended on an urgent note by pointing out that, although the Bill's discussion had not even commenced, the Ministry of Education had started contacts with the Ford Foundation in relation to the programming of the ICEs, therefore an ample debate should be carried out without delay. This was an illegal yet open document, typical of the tactics used by the opposition of that period in an endeavour to be as public as possible, in spite of the restrictions on all liberties.

In the "Colegio de Licenciados", graduate teachers association, of Madrid, a total amendment to the Bill, plus partial amendments to every article, were drawn up and published in the "Colegio's" Bulletin, supported by a thousand signatures of graduate teachers. In the same way teachers voiced their criticism through the "Colegios" of Barcelona, Valencia and the Canary Islands.

"Cuadernos para el Dialogo", a progressive publication (26), which maintained, within the precarious limits imposed by

the political situation, a critical attitude towards the Regime, had a specially sensitive attitude to education. The reason was obvious, its founder Joaquín Ruiz Jimenez had been Minister of Education until his destitution in 1956. In October 1969 a special monographic issue ("Suplemento") was brought out which attempted to give a panoramic view of the educational scene, at the same time offering a synthesis of the research and proposals for change which, in spite of all the difficulties imposed by the lack of legal status, various progressive teachers had drawn up. The list of authors included members of the clandestine parties, PCE (Spanish Communist Party), PSOE (Socialist Party), members of the Teachers Commissions, progressive Catholic groups, etc. The edition had taken a long time to come out, after difficult negotiations and the inevitable autocensorship to which the tight rope walking, which was the every day existence of such a publication in that epoch, obliged. All this signified delays, so that, rather than a direct criticism of the Bill, it took up points made by the White Paper and presented a devastating picture of the reality of schools; especially poignant was an article, "Present day portrait of a Primary teacher", written by a primary teacher and author, who had suffered Franco's repression at the end of the Civil War and found himself in the private sector, due to his expulsion from the State system. (27)

The different articles which make up this edition, go towards the formulation of a series of solutions which could be denominated an alternative to the technocratic and already weakened proposal offered by the Bill.

In another, this time clandestine publication, "Realidad" of the PCE (28), two articles appeared in relation to the Bill; the first "The draft Education Bill" dealt in a critical way with the Bill's articles relating to the University, while the second attempted to broaden the spectrum and relate the entire role of education to the society it was dealing with. The article began by pointing out the inevitable contradictions in which the Regime was going to find itself, if it attempted to bring about a reform, which by its very nature was bound to clash with the existing structures. From then on, the various "ommissions", lack of a concrete policy for creating school places, no determined statement with regard to improving the degraded salary situation of teachers in general, and primary teachers in particular, the lack of provision for infant schooling, the situation of privilege of private schools, etc. were denounced. In this latter question, just as there was in the Supplement of "Cuadernos para el Dialogo", there was a special note of warning in relation to state grants for private schools.

Significant amendments of supression accepted by the

"ponencia"

Finally the discussion of the Bill in the Cortes in committee stage got under way. It is interesting to observe the most important suppressions that had taken place as a result of the initial study of the amendments presented. As examples of what was eliminated, we show the following important passages taken from the introduction:

- "In the future when the country's economic situation permits, infant schooling should also become free."
- "It is also essential to take into consideration the fact that carrying out the reform implies an important increase in expenditure on education, which makes the obtaining of new resources necessary, by means of which the country will contribute to a task so deeply patriotic as the extension and strengthening of the national education system. A healthy financial policy would suggest that the new expenses which the State assumes should be balanced by new revenue; this would mean that the greater expenditure which the putting into practice of the present Bill will originate and, most particularly, an effective application of a policy of free compulsory education in EGB (6 to 14 years) for all children within school age, could be coped with.

We have endeavoured to ensure that the financial measures proposed, be of a nature that, within the progressive type of

taxation, contribute to a greater degree and with more immediacy to a redistribution of wealth. In this way, the State proposal will fulfil an important social function, as much because of the use that will be given to the resources thus spent, as because of the origin of the public revenue.

To this purpose, a surcharge has been created which will be levied on Chairmen and Directors of Boards of Directors, retributions which will be considered as a deductible expense in relation to their General Income Tax statement. The type of obligation which is applied to the latter tax will be raised and at the same time, in an effort to increase even further the progressive nature of taxation, in the higher incomes, it establishes that the 50% limit on the basis of which the share of the tax to be paid will be calculated, after having applied all types of exemption. This permits the State to ensure that those persons who enjoy a better income situation, will contribute in a greater proportion to the financing of these costs so important from a social point of view.

The special tax on Company profits which was provisionally set up by Decree 15 in 1967 on the 27th November, which levied a 10% on all profits which exceeded 6% of the fiscal capital, will be brought in again. It is logical to take advantage of both the Administration's and the tax payer's

experience, when introducing new forms of taxation. This tax has already shown its levying efficiency, as well as its lack of negative effects on the economy of Companies to which it has been applied. At the same time, since it affects the Companies with the highest incomes, it guarantees that these will contribute their efforts to such a task as education which, in the end, will benefit the country's economic development to which they are united in close solidarity.

Finally the General Taxation on the Companies' commerce, which affects the irregular deposits in Banks, Credit Companies and Saving Banks, will be increased. The fact that this Tax is not, according to legal order, to have any repercussions, guarantees that, in spite of its forming part of the indirect taxes and of its greater cost for the above mentioned institutions, it will not cause any increase in the cost of money, which eliminates any regressive element. The extension of this tax to the Savings Banks is justified, because according to the new Bill, some of their functions' costs are transferred to the National Budget."

What is left of the introduction are moralistic statements about the necessity for a "new and enthusiastic mentality" and the fact that "each and every civil servant and teacher must identify with this reform and contribute by means of

his professional competency, imagination and enthusiasm to the foreseeing and solving of the new problems which will arise at this stage of transformation of Spanish education".

It may be said that as a result of this first omission and those that were to follow relating to the same subject, the Bill was stillborn. The other two committees that were formed in the Cortes related to the Bill, Finance and Budget, saw to it that the Bill was not going to create any great change either in the fiscal system, or in public expenditure, without which a real reform could not take place.

Discussion in the Cortes

On the 2nd April when the debate commenced, "Nuevo Diario" published a leader, "Utopia and realism of the reform", which stated, "To the degree in which there is a lack of faith in these aims (referring to the human capital theory) the Reform loses its quality of urgency. Means become a subject for discussion and may be reduced. Its principles may be deemed a verbal excess removed from reality, an anecdotic flood of words. Educational reform and the means to carry it out, will prove utopic to those who are not persuaded of its necessity or, for those who consider privileged positions to be untouchable and seek to impose

their individual aspirations over and above the common aspiration for a more equal and democratic future. However it will prove realistic for those who do not lack this persuasion." Thus they defended the modernizers, Opus Dei Ministers and denounced the diehards attacks, whether from the Falange or the most conservative representatives of Church education. It was obvious that the capitulation of the "ponencia" meant that the first battle had been lost by the promoters of the Bill.

In the debate in relation to free education there was a strong effort to introduce the extension of it to different educational levels and at the same time force a greater public expenditure, for some in extending State education, while for others it meant extending the private grant funded system. In the end, the "procuradores" resolved the question by passing the responsibility to the Finance committee. This meant fairly demagogic statements were indulged in, such as demands that the expenditure on education represent 25% of the Budget, on the one hand, with accusations of "state monopoly, collectivization and socialization" on the other.

The debate over whether grants should be paid directly to schools or families continued, with the usual arguments of the right to freedom of choice of schools.

By the 4th June, the Catholic newspaper "Ya" was already expressing alarm at the lack of precision in the text which established free, compulsory education up to 14 years. They denounced the fact that the grants to private schools were not firmly established. They expressed fears that the future Act might be converted into a worthless document.

At the end, the "Additional Dispositions" which laid down the method of acquiring the necessary revenue, in accordance with what had been announced and suppressed in the introduction, were once more suppressed, leaving the financing of the Bill completely in the air. Curiously enough, an indicative table of the quantities required to be allocated to the Budget for education was retained. It listed the quantities, year by year, from 1972 up until 1981, considered as priorities. The sums required from 1970 to 71, originally included in the table were subsequently expressed in different articles, but suffered severe reductions. For 1970 the draft proposed 29,132 millions Pts. which was reduced to 1,129 millions and for 1971 the draft proposed 35,222 millions and the final result was 7,209 millions.

Among other significant amendments which were assumed by the

"ponencia" were the following:

- The diehards managed to include a specific reference to the Principles of the National Movement and the "Fueros" and Fundamental Laws (Statutory Laws brought in by Franco in 1939); they eliminated references to the Development Plan; and in regard to pupil evaluation system, the phrase "a greater humanizing of testing" was removed.

Definitions with a humanistic content were severely pruned such as reducing a more detailed definition of the pre-school age child's "biological, psychological, spiritual, intellectual and social" development, to the "harmonious development of the child's personality" or the objectives of COU (6th Form) expressed in humanistic, educational terms were reduced to sparse definitions of its function in technocratic terms, eliminating social and cultural aims.

With reference to the introduction of what was referred to as the "vernacular languages", that is Basque, Catalan and Gallego, which was defended by a Catalan "procurador", Viola, the rejection was couched in the following terms: (language) "is also a means of access to the soul and so there is also access for the virus of the soul."

In the course of the debate there were dramatic references

to the historical circumstances which formed the basis of the Regime. One of the "progressive" Falangists demanded, "Are there two Spains? Are there? No, there are not two Spains. We have overcome that state in so far as it is possible and we are here precisely so as to prevent the two Spains ever again being spoken of." (28) However the integrist, Oriol replied, "There were two Spains, but one day General Franco buried both, one and the other band, in the Valle de los Caídos." (30)

By the middle of April, the debate continued at a snail's pace, with excessive discussion over unimportant details. Newspapers of the epoch began to criticise this rhythm. The "procuradores" were giving the impression of, on the one hand, people who were marking time, since the real tensions were resolved elsewhere, and on the other, who were endeavouring to produce a window dressing version of a genuine parliamentary debate. In "Nuevo Diario" they comment on their habit of referring to themselves as "parlamentarios" (parliamentarians).

As an example of the incredible oratorical levels the debate sometimes reached, the following intervention, in reply to Monica Plaza's (Feminine section of the Movement) defence of the excellence of domestic economy education, exclusively for girls of course, is eloquent. Another Falangist (31)

said:

"I wish I could harvest all the spring airs so that they may give their fragrance to the flowers which are born in this brilliant spring, and make a bouquet of them and lay them at Miss Monica Plaza's feet."

There was a long battle on the part of the diehards to retain the compulsory subject of "Formación política nacional", national political education, the Movement's private domain in education. The most reactionary members of Falange defended their cause with this type of intervention, "I never speak of pluralism and am against it, when I speak of politics. However I am an ardent defender of man's political formation but of politics with a capital P, as a necessary discipline, along with his religious and moral formation. What I wish to say is that if at any moment this could be interpreted as a formation outside the Movement, it will be necessary to modify the text." (32)

The "ponente" Muñoz Alonso, while defending this subject, did not consider it necessary at University level and declared that the whole Bill was based "on the framework of the Principles of the Movement and the Fundamental Laws, (and not) ... on a free, independent interpretation, which could be called Faist anarchy". (33)

Another important question especially for the representatives of the Vertical State Union and the Falangists in general, because of their influence in this area as was shown in Chapter II of this thesis, was the defence of vocational education, linking it to society's needs. This defence was expressed in populist terms by the more advanced Falangists. In this discussion with reference to the phrase, "the professionals that the country requires", Fernando Suarez, an integrist, made the following intervention, "What I am trying to do is adapt the letter to the spirit of the text. The Bill is being contradicted by sectors with whom I do not wish, under any circumstances, to be identified. Such sectors say that the Bill does not serve society, but rather the dominant capitalist structure. And as this is a falsehood beyond all falsehoods, it is necessary to clear it up." (34)

In the debate as to whether University rectors should be elected or not, there is another immediate reference to the nature of the Regime, "One cannot speak of the University rectors' presence in this house (Cortes), as an argument for defending their democratic election. Our organic democracy has nothing to do with other representative systems which exist in the world". (35)

The newspapers continued to criticise the lentitude and superficiality of the debate and the fact that too many important elements were left to subsequent regulation. By June there was a serious problem of absence of "procuradores" from the debate. On the 4th June they had to suspend the session owing to lack of quorum and on the 9th June they were obliged to wait two hours for quorum.

Finally, after a tremendous final sprint, with morning and afternoon sessions during the rest of June, the Bill was ready to pass to the plenary session on the 28th July. Of the 5,109 amendments, only two remained to be discussed, concerning Higher Technical Schools and Higher Vocational Schools. One was withdrawn and the other, one can only assume symbolically, was defended by Dionisio Martín Sanz, a Falangist and large landowner, who had occupied important administrative posts as early as 1939, and lost by 199 votes to 149. The Bill was defended by Campany Diez de Revenga who made a very rhetorical speech in which he described the unprecedented number of amendments and declared, "What we are doing is carrying out the most fabulous investment, but at the same time the safest and most profitable one which a national economy could envisage."

The Minister Villar Palasi presented the final text of the Bill for approval and in his speech he stated "....Because

it is precisely the dynamism of our society which imposes on us, with all urgency, the necessity for this reform, if we do not wish that the gap (he refers to the cultural, technical gap with the rest of Europe and the advanced capitalist world) ends up turning into, what must be said without rhetorical dramatization, but in all crudity, a grave, the grave of Spanish culture."

He bitterly denounced, of course in the veiled, rhetorical style appropriate to the occasion, what had happened to the Bill, "Or do we not all know, all of you and I, that pressure groups tried to deny this Bill its vital sustenance for the future and by what rough paths they tried to achieve this? History with a capital H will record it."

The Bill was finally passed with one vote against it. Two days later the Government signed an agreement with the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which represented a loan of 12,000 million dollars to be paid back within a period of 10 years. The conditions imposed were that the Education Bill be enacted and put into practice, that experts in educational planning and administration, approved by the Bank, be appointed, that the State guarantee the construction and efficient maintenance of school buildings and in general the improvement in efficiency of the school system and the satisfaction of Spain's need for a

more skilled work force. No publicity was given to the signing of this agreement, nor to the important quantity of the loan. On the 3rd August the Bill was signed by Franco and became law.

Conclusion

In spite of all the activity for and against the Bill, the unusual interest which it awoke and the fact that it was tailor-made to suit the World Bank or international capitalism's requirements, nevertheless, like a relentless Greek tragedy, the traditional forces behind the fascist Regime managed to have the most important, if not the final word. By removing the Bill's financial support, they rendered any change that was to take place relatively sterile and inoperative.

The existence and activities of these "families" have been shown in the Cortes debate, as well as the more caricature aspects of that institution. The real issue at stake was the feasibility or not of introducing a capitalist modernizing process in Franco's Spain and it was attacked with the false rhetoric and clumsy reasoning, characteristic of the earliest fascist, totalitarian period. Yet these crude arguments were able to cripple the project.

In the day to day account of the various pronouncements concerning the Bill, it has been shown that the anti-Regime opposition was becoming more obvious and more articulate. Teachers were finding ways to express the genuinely new ideas in relation to education and, linked to the workers and students' struggles, were beginning to create an active and at the same time creative movement against the Regime. This will be the central theme of the second part of this thesis.

Notes.

1. See Chapter III of this thesis.
2. Preston, Las derechas españoles en el siglo XX, Madrid, Editorial Sistema, 1986. Page 159.
3. Ramirez, España 1939-1975, Barcelona, Editorial Labor, Guadarrama, 1978, Page 98.
4. Vilar, La naturaleza del Franquismo, Barcelona, Ediciones Península, 1977. Page 125.
5. Ibid. Page 132.
6. Ibid. Page 133.

7. Fontana, ed. Montero, España bajo el franquismo, Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 1986.
Page 103.
8. Vilar. Op. cit. Page 145.
9. Fortuna, ed. Fusi, España bajo el franquismo, Barcelona, Ed. Crítica, 1986.
Page 167.
10. Tuñon de Lara. Op. cit. Page 403.
11. "Alcazar" 27th March 1968.
12. "La Voz de Asturias" 6th March 1967.
13. Father Juan Gonzalez-Anleo. "Madrid"
30th December 1967.
14. "Ya" 1st January 1968.
15. Ibid. Page 399.
16. Bardavio, La estructura del poder en España, Bilbao, Ibérica Europea Ediciones,

17. "Nuevo Diario" was a national daily newspaper controlled by Opus Dei.
18. Asociación de Catedráticos, "Informe sobre el Proyecto de Ley de Educación" 1970.
19. Instituto Nacional de Ingenieros Civiles. Madrid. "Informe Matute" Nov. 1969.
20. See Chapter 4, Note 5.
21. INI, "Instituto Nacional de Industria", National Institute of Industry, was created in 1941 as an instrument of State intervention in industry and later became almost subsidiary to private enterprise. "Altos Hornos", large steel works in the Basque country. Renfe, state railway company.
22. Cuadernos de Pedagogía. May 1980.
23. "Pueblo" was a daily newspaper which belonged to the National Movement and

Emilio Romero was its editor.

24. He was subsequently to become one of the deputy speakers in the first democratic Parliament.
25. This petition was being made by all progressive groups and had to be carefully stage managed in the Assembly.
26. "Cuadernos para el Dialogo" was an influential democratic publication which opened its pages to all the political forces of the opposition.
27. Meliano Peraile
28. "Realidad" was a theoretical journal of the Communist Party published clandestinely.
29. Gutierrez de Castillo, National Chief of primary teachers organization in the National Movement, "SEM".
30. A vast fascist monument, a monastery built

by political prisoners under Franco's orders to commemorate the Civil War and as his burial place. He is buried there along with Jose Antonio and many heroes of the Nationalist side.

- 31. Gonzalez Alvarez.
- 32. Monica Plaza.
- 33. "Federación Anarquista Ibérica".
Iberian Anarchist Federation.
- 34. He is referring to the University
contracted teachers' document.
- 35. Eugenio Lopez. "Procurador" for the
SEM, Primary teachers organization
within the National Movement.

Part 2. Opposition in Education

Introduction:

In Part Two of this thesis, teachers themselves become the main actors and how they responded to the objective conditions which have been analysed in the preceding Part 1 is studied. Teachers in the sixties in Spain found themselves immersed in a changing society and in an antiquated institution incapable of itself adapting to the changes. Even the so called reform proposed by the Regime, was an attempt at apparent reform without change, while those teachers who developed a political consciousness and became active anti Regime militants, offered and aspired to a quite different educational solution expressed in the democratic "Alternative".

In the following chapters the ideological climate of the schools of different kinds in which teachers worked from the end of the Civil War up until and during the sixties is studied, in order to demonstrate how such teachers reacted

to their concrete surroundings and commenced to organize and develop a pluralist, unified teachers' movement. The influence of clandestine Political Parties is shown, as well as the obvious models of the workers' and students' movements.

Their original demands, arising out of the very difficult professional situation which they were experiencing, are traced on through their development into what emerged as an articulated proposal of educational reform for a democratic society. Their struggles to find adequate legal platforms from which to express their views and gain greater influence among teachers, parents and society in general, are followed through their difficult progress and it is shown that this process of seeking a voice, was in itself a manner of attacking and undermining the Regime.

As soon as as their numbers and cohesion permitted, teachers embarked on more advanced actions, such as strikes, first in small, vanguard actions to lead the way and finally reaching important nation wide actions which had great impact on society and showed that, in spite of the enormous difficulties of underground struggle, teachers had developed an ample movement, conscious of its responsibilities to society and capable of leading their colleagues in a real struggle aimed at improving education in Spain.

Parallel to the development of a broad teachers' movement as an expression of struggle, loosely organized, mainly in Teachers' Commissions, various more spontaneous groups gathered around pedagogic problems and analysed and discussed their own professional practice. These movements managed to connect with advanced pedagogic currents which had existed before the Civil War and existing trends in Europe and America. It will be shown that they frequently were part of the Teachers' movement, or drew close to it in the course of their development, while others remained divorced from a more political approach and defined anti Regime stance. These groups' contribution to the Alternative will be seen to have been enriching.

Another facet of the struggle for education was the Parents movement and it will be shown that teachers took an active part in fomenting it. This gave greater scope to teachers' proposals which were elevated to serious social demands echoed by parents, the workers' and students' movements.

Finally the remarkable achievement of this laborious and arduous struggle carried out by teachers all over the country, which was the drawing up of a thought out, flexible and original proposal for educational reform, which was assumed by all anti Regime teachers and by the clandestine

parties who were active in the anti Franco struggle, is studied. That this Alternative represented the collective experience of this broad movement with its many strands, was accepted by all those involved and its unified, pluralist solutions to the grave problems implicit in transforming Spain's chaotic and inadequate school system are, the thesis maintains, the most important evidence of the vitality, coherence and representative character of this teachers' movement.

Part Two . The opposition in education.

Chapter Five. Teachers find a voice.

Introduction:

In this chapter the ideological climate of schools, first in the post Civil War period and then in the fifties and sixties is described and how the first opposition on the part of teachers emerged. This movement which had as its causes the wretched professional situation of teachers in general, due to their poor salaries, ill equipped schools, severe ideological controls and lack of political freedom, was also stimulated by the experience in the University and, to a lesser degree, in the Teacher Training Colleges of the student movement prior to their entering the teaching profession.

At the same time, in the sixties, the changes that were occurring in society due to the transformation of the working population, the growth of cities and the industrialized areas, which led to an increase in the workers' struggle also had its effect on the schools and

their teachers. As an ill paid, professional group, bearing an important social responsibility, in contact with the parents of their pupils, they had many opportunities for becoming aware politically and socially of the injustices and limitations of the society in which they were living and playing a significant ideological role in. This thesis maintains that the teachers' anti-Regime movement had its roots in the popular workers and citizens' struggles, as well as the intellectual convictions which their situation as professionals in possession of university studies, in many cases led them to hold.

The role of teachers in society, always an ambiguous one, on the one hand praised and awarded with official rhetoric, on the other treated with a great lack of concern as to salaries, working conditions, need of professional stimulus and in-service training is studied, as well as the sociological origins of teachers of different types. The working class parents regarded teachers as possible allies although they always treated them with cautious respect. Nevertheless their real insertion in society and their day by day experience through their pupils and pupils' families led many of them to a greater knowledge of working class conditions than other professionals of their same social background possessed. For this reason, in spite of their middle class backgrounds, the rigid controls and discouraging

professional conditions, or indeed because of the latter, this thesis endeavours to show that many of them were susceptible to democratic proposals and eager to find an alternative to the professionally impoverished school in which they were obliged to carry out their work.

Owing to the nature of the Regime this professional awakening very quickly became politicized and led to a situation of more open confrontation. As a result the movement was more and more open to the influences of the workers and students' struggles and to the programmes of the different clandestine political groups that were functioning in the sixties. These parties and their forms of action under such difficult conditions are examined together with their greater or lesser role in the promotion of the teachers' struggle.

It is shown how the different conditions suffered by teachers, in the state and private sector, at primary and secondary levels, conditioned their possibilities and opportunities for acquiring an anti-Regime attitude and the manner in which they began to enter into contact with the active groups. Special attention is shown to the religious order schools which occupied such a prominent position in the secondary sector.

Finally the teachers movements' demands are examined and their relation to the other movements of the workers and students, as well as other professional groups which also began to criticize the Regime. The essential difference of the teachers' situation as a body of salaried workers, as opposed to other professionals with a different status, is also shown.

Schools in the post Civil War period and in the decades of the fifties and the sixties

The period after the Civil War, lasting right up until the end of World War II and to the beginning of the fifties, was one of autarky, cultural and political isolation and the extreme repression meted out by the triumphant side to the losers. For the education system it meant a drastic step backwards. State Primary and Secondary schools were not rebuilt after the war, indeed some existing ones were closed and no new building project was initiated until well into the fifties.(1) As we have shown in Part One, Chapter 1, of this thesis, a great number of teachers, especially in the primary sector, suffered severely under political repression implemented by the Law of Political Responsibilities (1939) which remained valid until 1945, the Law of Repression of Masonry and Communism (1940) and a number of legal dispositions concerning the purging of civil servants. Many

teachers, as we have shown, were imprisoned, executed and many more had been forced to flee into exile. All republican ex-combatants were obliged to attend "rehabilitation courses" and most were expelled from the Body of State teachers.

Before the Civil War, unlike the fascist experiences in Germany and Italy, Spanish fascism, franquism, had not experienced a great totalitarian mass movement. "The primary contradiction, that of having reached power without a previous totalitarian disposition in society - the Falangists strategy - once again produced severe costs."

(2) In reality they had no coherent proposal for education, beyond crude imitations of Nazi or Mussolini's schools, consequently they tended to consider that the Church's role was immovable, which naturally suited this Institution well. "The Church, was logically interested in maintaining its ancient monopoly over the school apparatus of Spanish civil society which formed a decisive element for achieving the necessary stability of the system of domination" (3)

In the first years of the Franco dictatorship, the victory was glorified, the defeated side was denominated anti-Spanish, and the "Crusade" rather than civil war, was justified especially by the Church. "Very early on we can distinguish two directions in what may be called the

ideological tasks: the dominant one or that of the victorious band....and another directed towards winning over a mass of people, who exhausted by three years of war and by the repression, adopted a conformist, indifferent or simply resigned attitude. It is necessary to say that, for many years, an imperative and intransigent tone was the dominant, ideological expression."(4)

As we have said the Falangists ceded to the Church the control of education in the main, but they reserved for themselves the task of controlling teachers. "In this case the principle of specialists in domination was applied and for this reason the system's preoccupation was not so much controlling the pupil but rather the teacher. And this was indeed a mission for the bureaucracy of the (Falange) Party." (5) This was applied especially to State primary teachers who, in theory, all had to belong to "Servicio Español de Magisterio", (SEM) a Falange organization which subsequently became an integral part of the National Movement. Although the primary teachers were very strictly controlled, nevertheless the obligatory membership never reached the totality of teachers, as the following figures show:

Table No. 1.

Primary Teachers in SEM:

Year.	Total no.of teachers.	Teachers in SEM.	%
1941.	51,063	41.000	80.3
1942.	52,3588	43,000	82.6

(6)

They also reserved for themselves three obligatory subjects, "Formación Política", later called "Formación del Espíritu Nacional" that is political formation, or the formation of a national spirit, for boys, which was converted into "Enseñanza del Hogar" or home studies for girls, and physical education which was equally divided and differentiated for boys and girls.

In 1939, at the beginning of the first post war academic year, a solemn ceremony took place in all the Nation's classrooms, a crucifix and a portrait of Franco were hung on the walls and were thus to preside over educational activity until the death of the Dictator. (7) The predominant ideas represented a return to a medieval concept of education and to the glorious period of the Spanish Imperial rule, that is to the 16th century. "Religious teaching and patriotic teaching, the teaching of Spanish History as a second religion for the Spanish, without this sounding like idolatry, because the two coincide" (8) were to be the main

content according to Pemartín, Falangist Chief of Higher and Secondary education. The slogan, "For the Empire towards God" was intended to give the tone of educational content.

In 1943 the following description of the school day appeared in the "Revista Nacional de Educación", National Journal of Education, "On commencing the school day, the children, in formation, raise the flag; then they pray, sing the Movement's hymn and the National Anthem, and then file into class singing one of the anthems of the Falange Youth Organization. The same solemnity presides the taking down of the flag at the end of the school day. Just these two simple ceremonies, filled with emotion, give an idea of the enormous distance which has been covered since the Liberation. Those ragged, dirty masses of children made up of unruly, ignorant, rebellious individuals are now organized groups who respond to concepts of discipline, who know how to pray, sing beautiful verses and feel a love for their Country" (9)

The text books used in this impoverished primary school were called "Encyclopedia" and consisted of quite small books, 300 to 400 pages, with poor, minute illustrations. The first grade encyclopedia would cover up to eight or nine years and the second up to ten or twelve. The content was total, for example quoting from a Second Grade Encyclopedia's index:

Christian Doctrine, Sacred History, Spanish Grammar, Arithmetic, Geometry, Drawing, Geography, History of Spain, Physical-natural Sciences (this was simple physics, chemistry and biology), Law, Urbanity. This book was published in 1953 and contained 313 pages of a format, 20 cms. by 15 cms.

Coeducation was strictly forbidden from 1939. "In the first place, it is necessary to return to the healthy tradition which sees in woman the daughter, the wife and the mother, and not the pedantic intellectual who tries in vain to equal man in the domains of science: every thing in its place and the woman's place is not the forum or the workshop .. but rather the home, looking after the house and children, putting into the husband's leisure hours a soft warmth of spirituality and love." (10) Even as late as 1952, the education authorities were worried by the fact that boys and girls might coincide in examination halls in secondary education, so a Ministerial Order was issued to the effect of prohibiting such a coincidence.

In the private sector of religious schools, education was even more narrow minded and restrictive, especially for girls. "The weight of prudish, obscurantist, narrow Catholicism which has been ours up until very recent times, has probably been much more serious. One must not forget the

great number of Spanish women, especially in the middle and upper classes, who "were educated by the nuns", subjected not for six years of their lives, nor during two hours a week while their studies lasted, but for five or six hours a day for a period of ten years. The ideal of the "Child of Mary" which the nuns proposed was indeed much more characterless, narrow and passive than the "cleanly modern" girl of the Feminine Section of Falange" (11)

In the 1945 Primary Education Act, intended to sum up the experience of the first years and define this level of education's role, it stated in its first chapter, "Primary education has as its objective the formation of the will, the conscience and the character of the child for the fulfillment of duty and his eternal destiny; the implantation of love and the idea of service for his country, in accordance with the principles inspired by the Movement." Fruit of the religious principle was the recognition of the Church's right to educate in the name of a supernatural order independent of any earthly power; and the right, together with the State, to found schools of any level and also the right to invigilate all teaching in both public and private schools which had to do with the Faith and customs." (12)

From 1950 on, the initial migration from the country to the

city and the beginnings and subsequent increase of the economic "boom" as we have shown in Part One, Chap. 2 of this thesis, was beginning to change Spanish society. This meant also that much greater interest was given to education on the part of the newly industrialized working population, who began to realize its importance, and of the middle classes who were emerging as the industrialization process continued. The demand for schools increased in the fifties to become a clamour in the sixties. The State was incapable of responding to this demand, although of course, from 1956 onwards is when school building programmes commenced. These always suffered delays and were never fulfilled to a 100% as we have shown in relation to the Development Plans in the second Chapter of Part One, but nevertheless did mean that school places were continually on the increase.

In the private sector the religious order schools also increased their offer, still almost entirely restricted to the middle and upper classes, especially in the large cities. Their contribution was especially important in the secondary level. Simultaneously, in the working class districts of the industrialised cities and towns, "free" that is to say, not recognised by the Ministry of Education and not complying with any ministerial requirements, schools emerged, a real educational subproduct. However the demand was so great, that they did a thriving business. It is

believed that 3,000 of these schools existed at secondary level and they represented 35% of the total number of school places. (13) Their number in the primary level was even greater.

The problem of education during these two decades was treated as a quantitative one and the changes in the ideological orientation and academic content were very gradual. The early fascist trappings lasted longer in the school system than anywhere else, and only gradually began to lose intensity with the increase in state schools while, as we have said, Franco's portrait and the crucifix continued to preside over all classrooms. The change of manner and tone came from outside, from society itself, rather than from any official directives. At the same time, the equipping of state schools remained in an apallingly backward state and it can be said that such expressions as "educational material" were unknown and meaningless in the sparse reality of the Spanish primary or secondary state classroom.

In the private, religious school sector the ideology and educational practice did not really change until the II Vatican and then, with considerable reluctance, in many cases. However they were automatically more in touch with European educational practice, as most orders were

universal, had more means at their disposal, and consequently improved their teaching methodology, used more advanced technical equipment and, in general, their schools had a more modern appearance. In the "free" school obviously none of this occurred, as they did not even possess the most elemental hygienic conditions, it would be useless to speak of educational equipment.

It can be said that the education system during this period, was anachronic, unfit for its tasks in an industrialised, capitalist society and filled with class discrimination. In effect there were two systems, the State primary which attended to the peasant and working class children, the State Secondary, much more limited, which attended to those of the working class who could aspire to it and the middle classes and a private system which took care of the middle and upper classes' needs. The other, more miserable section of the private sector, was of course, exclusively concerned with the working class children.

Development of a new opposition

In the fifties a transformation was gradually produced in the strategies and objectives of the political opposition to the Franco Regime. This was caused by a distinct break with the Civil War traditions, due to the fact that new

generations who had not lived through the Civil War were coming onto the scene. No longer was armed insurrection seen as a viable proposition. At the same time, due to the economic changes which were taking place, a new urban working class and a new middle class were emerging, with new attitudes, which were bound to clash with the narrowness of the Regime.

All this meant the gradual growth of new methods of struggle which would take into account the conditions of the country and the minimal possibilities provided by legal platforms for the initiation of a more open opposition, designed to accumulate forces and attract more and more supporters to a position of resistance.

From the end of the Civil War and indeed before it, in the zones occupied by franquist troops, guerrilla warfare was carried out by disorganised and spontaneous groups. These grew, in spite of severe repression, especially in the mountainous areas which abound in Spain. Not until 1945 was it possible for these groups to establish contact with one another and create specific territorial divisions. They were usually led by politically significant fighters, socialists, anarchists and communists. At the end of the nazi occupation of France, more Spanish soldiers were available to enter Spain and join the guerrilla. It is calculated that between

forty and sixty thousand Spaniards had fought in the French resistance (14) and many of the survivors were prepared to go on fighting against fascism in their own country. Such reinforcements of the guerrilla were organized by the Communist Party until 1948, when this Party decided to abandon the armed struggle. The guerrilla continued, officially ignored in the press and radio, for two or three years after this, and gradually was eliminated in the fifties.

The political parties of the Popular Front continued to recognise the Republican Government in exile, first installed in Mexico and then returned to France in 1946. Some members of this Government, including the socialists, promoted the idea of joining with the Monarchists and attempting the restoration of a constitutional monarchy with the aid of the western powers who had won the war against Hitler. At the same time they proposed the elimination of the communists from the Government to facilitate this aid. This alliance with the monarchists failed, so in 1947 the socialists left the government, which lingered on, composed only of republicans, almost entirely disconnected with the interior, until 1951. The Government in exile of the Basque country continued with more vitality, although they too requested the Communists to leave in 1948, because of the Cold War climate.

The leadership of the Socialist and Anarchist parties were settled in France. In 1950 the French Government expelled the Spanish Communist leadership, but they continued to operate underground. The Republicans centred their activity in France around the Government in exile.

Within Spain underground organizations were functioning, but suffered severe repression during the forties. Communists, socialists and anarchists and their organizations fell victims to torture, imprisonment and executions over and over again. Nevertheless the growth of popular resistance in the strikes and civic movements at the end of the forties were all led by members of the clandestine groups. However in this period "the categories of the Civil War times and the Popular Front had finished, without new ones having yet emerged; the same happened with the old forms of organization, with the decimated generations; the corn was still green." (15)

During the fifties, the Socialist Party's leadership abroad appeared to suffer a crisis of identity, while by the middle of the decade in the interior, groups began to organize themselves in Asturias, Vizcaya and Madrid, the latter especially in the University. "The socialist organization had difficulties in adapting themselves to the new

conditions:.. because of a political error it comitted by operating mainly in exile, waiting for the expected collapse of the Francoist Regime in a post-Fascist Europe." (16) A few years later, the leaders of these groups, which operated with considerable autonomy, removed from the leadership, when not in open disagreement with it, were arrested. These socialist militants inside Spain attempted to carry out their struggle in close cooperation with all forces who were active in the opposition, while the leadership forbade any association with the communists and sought contacts with other organizations on their right, with more entity in exile than within Spain. During the sixties the Socialists grew within Spain but their divorce from their leadership continued, until a break was produced between Tierno Galvan and the leadership in 1965, which finally resulted in his founding a splinter group party, initially called Socialist Party of the Interior. The Socialist Party's activities centred around Asturias and Vizcaya in the workers' movement and in Madrid, the young socialists were active in the University. Their internal struggle and crisis of identity dragged on into the seventies, greatly limiting their effective participation in the resistance, although not prejudicing nor impairing the political future of the reborn Socialist Party once the period of legality, known as the Transition, commenced after the Dictator's death.

The change in policy within the Communist Party began to be made explicit in the fifth Congress in 1954, when a certain transformation of the leadership from the old guard took place, which led to the development of the national reconciliation policy in 1956. This policy arose out of an analysis of who had benefited and who had lost as a result of the civil war, showing that many of the forces which had participated on the winning side, were now themselves victims of the Dictatorship and should join with the losers in order to establish democracy. "The recognition of the need for a broad coalition was a judgement of inconsiderable insight and it put the communists in advance of other sectors of the opposition, although the failure to realize the time-scale involved was to prove something of a handicap." (17) Subsequently, with the increase in militancy and popular struggles, this policy advanced, in the sixth Congress in 1960 to the proposal of a Pact for Freedom, with all democratic, anti Franco forces and the collaboration especially with progressive Catholics, using the National, Political strike as the instrument with which to overthrow the Regime. In spite of the fact that these policies were not always accepted within the Party, causing important splits in defense of traditional postures on the one hand and of those who considered the new line should develop more swiftly and drastically, on the other, during this decade the communists played an important role in all anti Regime

activities. "The importance of the Spanish C.P. continued to grow and was increased by the judgement it made, quite positive and in no way conformist, of May '68 in France and, especially, because of its condemnation of the military occupation of Czechoslovakia" (18)

At this time another theoretical element introduced by the communists was the "Alliance of the forces of work and culture" which attributed importance to the possible revolutionary role of professionals, artists and intellectuals in an active collaboration with the workers' struggle. Their calls for unity which found echo among anti fascists, nevertheless were largely ignored by the leaderships of other parties.

The anarchists suffered terrible repression during the decade of the forties and it can be said that except for small groups, they scarcely existed in the two subsequent decades. They had also divided into two groups, the "political" or "collaborationists" who were prepared to work together with the other democratic forces, including the monarchists, in the Government in exile, and "anticollaborationists". They were very active in the different actions of the opposition at the end of the forties but after that, due to the repression entered into a decline. The Falangists tried to persuade them to collaborate in the Vertical State Union.

In 1958 a new political group appeared, the Popular Liberation Front, FLP or "Felipe" as it was called, in which marxists and catholics worked together. They agreed with the communist party and collaborated with them both in the University and in the attempts at calling the National Political Strike. The arrests produced in this group caused the first trials against Catholics. This group did not last long, at the most until 1971, but "the "Felipe" is one of the groups which best illustrate the pioneer character of the Spanish left in relation to problems which later other parties would have to face in different countries...Its starting point was the cooperation between Christians and Marxists."(19)

More directly related to the Church were the organizations, HOAC, Workers brotherhood of Catholic Action and JOAC, Young workers of Catholic Action which were the principal instigators of a revolutionary change in certain Catholic sectors. They were particularly active in workers struggles and in the consolidation of the Workers Commissions (CC.OO).

Towards the end of the sixties various organizations emerged which may be termed as belonging to the new left, all of whom had their origins either in the Communist Party, "Felipe" or HOAC. These included the Basque nationalist

armed group ETA (which commenced in 1962); ORT, Revolutionary organization of Workers, which emerged out of Christian base communities and was active in the workers and citizens movements; the Communist League, a trotskyist group.

To sum up this brief review of the underground opposition parties who were gaining greater prominence during the sixties, the opposition "socially and politically had extended greatly. However, the communist opposition, which continued to be the most active, was still submitted to isolation on the part of the majority of the other organizations (although this isolation broke down at grass roots level in the case of workers, students and intellectuals). Besides, the Workers Commissions and the free assemblies of students were meeting places for all tendencies and ideological families." (20)

Teachers in the sixties

Secondary teachers, in the main were recruited from the ranks of graduates proceeding from middle class families, as the upper class families would seek a more promising occupation for their sons and even daughters who worked. The following statistics from the Ministry's White Paper show the social composition of University students:

Table No. 2.

Year 1964.

Social Economic Category of parents	% students in University level
Farmers *	1,1
Farm workers	0.2
Proprietors and independent workers in industry commerce,transport and companies.	2.8
Liberal professions	8.3
Managers of firms	8.7
Administrative and sales employees, technicians	5.6
Workers	0.2
Service employees	-
Armed Forces	4.2
Working population not classified	4.8
Non working independent population	5.5

Total of all categories 2.1

*The authors explain that in this category are included large land owners and small peasant farmers. (21)

As well as the social and economic status, geographical origin entered into the various factors which conditioned a young person's possibility of attending a University or a Higher Technical School. The latter were only to be found in Madrid.

At this period, many of these young graduates' attitude towards the teaching profession was very ambivalent. They did not regard it really as a profession, indeed they had received almost no specific professional training, and as it was poorly paid and did not receive any great social esteem, they felt it was a mere stepping stone. They did not speak of themselves as teachers, but rather as graduates who "gave classes", as if this were a temporary arrangement which would soon lead to more important activities like the Civil Service, research or the creative arts. Teaching seemed like a parenthesis while they thought about a more brilliant future, so they began teaching in the private sector to earn some money and, indeed, often took about ten years to realize that this was going to be their life's occupation.

This meant that they commenced with a rather amateurish attitude to their work and made a professional, union approach to the struggle for better conditions for teachers and a better education system for the people more difficult. The process of the struggle itself and the clashes with the Regime's inflexibility helped to create a consciousness of being an intellectual worker with a social task to perform. In the sixties, with the increase of private schools of all types, the owners of the more pirate variety, taking advantage of these circumstances, were able to evade all legal requirements as regards written contracts, holiday pay, social security, etc. without too much opposition. Indeed the initial struggles of teachers revolved around such questions.

Quite different, of course, was the attitude of those who prepared for the competitive exams (oposiciones) in order to enter the State sector as a civil servant. These were fewer, especially in the case of "catedráticos" as the number of State Secondary Schools was still reduced and the majority of teachers in them were not civil servants.

Primary teachers who studied in the "Escuelas Normales", Teacher Training Colleges, which existed in the capital city of every province of Spain, were from a rather different stratum. The fact that it required a shorter period of study

than the University degree, three years instead of five, lower educational qualifications for entrance, "Bachillerato Elemental" lower secondary education up to 14 years, until 1967, from then on till 1970, "Bachillerato Superior" secondary up to 17 years, made it more accesible.

For peasant families, the main educational opportunity for the promising, usually male, child (the only one who would be considered) was either the Seminary or the Teacher Training College, or frequently both, as the pupil who entered the Seminary very young did not do so necessarily because of a religious vocation and later in life, when possible, convalidated his studies and transferred to the Teachers Training College in order to acquire a means of supporting himself. The number of ex-seminarists and indeed, ex-priests employed in education, both in primary and secondary levels was very high. All this meant that a certain number of students in the Training Colleges were, in fact, pre-selected.

On the other hand, in provincial capitals where there was no University, the Training College was the only institution of higher education available and so the only possibility open to middle class families who could not afford to send their children away to study. This especially applied to girls, on whose education, inevitably less money would be spent. As

late as 1973, the figures of attendance at Teacher Training Colleges in all Spain were 62.9% female and 37.1% male.(22)

In University cities, many of those attending the Teacher Training Colleges did so either for economic reasons which obliged them to choose a shorter course, or because they had not attained the academic levels required by the University or because of their sex, girls were automatically oriented towards this "feminine" career. The Teacher Training College in no way enjoyed the prestige of the University and the phrase "pasar más hambre que un maestro de escuela", to be as hungry as a school master (instead of a church mouse) still had a social and historic significance.

In an interesting study of the profession of primary teacher in the Balearic Islands carried out in 1972, based on a survey in which almost half of the primary teachers in the islands participated, it is shown that in 1966-67, 28 of the teachers graduating from the Training Colleges were male and 52 were female. In relation to the social origin of all the practising primary teachers in the islands, this study reached the following conclusions obtained from a survey carried out among the teachers:

Table No. 3.

The social classes were defined as:

Upper class:

- a) large land owners, business proprietors...
- b) professionals with university studies.

Middle class:

- a) teachers, employees ...
- b) small rural proprietors.
- c) craftsmen, shopkeepers.

Working class:

- a) industrial workers.
- b) agricultural workers.

Class	Males	Females	Total
Upper class			
a)	0.4%	1.6%	0.9%
b)	2.4%	7.2%	4.4%
Total	2.8%	8.9%	5.3%
Middle class			
a)	32.3%	37.5%	34.6%
b)	24.3%	20.3%	22.6%
c)	21.1%	17.6%	19.6%
Total	77.7%	75.4%	76.8%
Working class			
a)	13.6%	11.3%	12.5%
b)	5.1%	2.8%	4.2%
Total	18.7%	14.1%	16.7%
No reply	0.8%	1.6%	1.2%

(23)

Over three quarters of the primary teachers corresponded to middle class origins, according to the definitions of this survey.

In another question concerning their reasons for studying to be primary teachers, the majority replied "because they liked teaching". However the author commented: "In spite of the motives expressed, which we respect, it is necessary to state that, always, the Teacher Training College studies have been considered easy to pass....On the other hand, the student with scant economic means and sufficient intelligence to embark on other higher studies, if they wished to reach anything of an intellectual nature, had very few opportunities of going to the mainland." (24)

Quite a significant number of the teachers trained in the Teacher Training Colleges did not teach subsequently, but used their qualifications to enter the civil service at a lower grade than graduates, or the police force. In the White Paper it stated, "Because of a mere question of geographic location, there are people who find their only opportunity to acquire a secondary training in the Teachers' Training College." (25)

The university graduates who entered the teaching profession in the sixties had been exposed to the students struggles of the fifties and early sixties, and had an opportunity to become aware of the different political groups who were active in the opposition. This meant that a minority of them would have had political experience and all of them be aware of anti Franco positions existing in society. Not all universities experienced the same level of student involvement, Madrid and Barcelona were definitely in the vanguard, both in number and duration of the struggles, but gradually Valencia, the Universities of Andalucia, Granada and Sevilla, the universities of the north, Oviedo, Santiago de Compostela, joined in.

Logically it took a much longer time for political and social unrest to reach the Teacher Training Colleges, in the first place because of the students' age, not until 1967 from 15 to 17, and also because of the institutions themselves and of the teaching which went on in them, of a very narrow, dogmatic, instrumentalized type. Not until the end of the sixties did a movement begin in these Colleges, sometimes fired off by the example of the University students and at others more linked to the teachers' movement. Andalucia was the most advanced area in this struggle from the start.

The Teachers' Movement

The beginnings of the movement occurred in a disconnected manner in various parts of Spain and each area possessed different characteristics, beginning in different sectors of the school system.

The teachers on reaching professional status either in State or private schools, as we have said, found themselves in most adverse circumstances, very badly paid and subjected to severe ideological controls. The profession lacked social prestige, with the only exception of the "Catedrático de Instituto" State Secondary teachers, who were, however, poorly paid in comparison with other professions.

The first activists of the resistance movement were, in the case of graduate teachers, people who had been influenced in their student days by the struggles in the University or who had taken an active part in them. In many cases they were members of the clandestine political groups, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, "Felipe" or Catholic organizations.

In the private sector, the lack of a professional attitude on the part of many graduate teachers and of prior political experience on the part of primary teachers meant that the

use of the minimum instruments of defence which the Regime permitted, through the State Vertical Union and the Labour Courts, became in effect a school of militancy. With the help of progressive lawyers, whose offices were meeting places for the opposition, teachers began to demand their basic legal rights and defend themselves against unjust dismissals, thereby acquiring new attitudes in relation to labour relations and a vision of their struggle much more linked to the labour movement in general.

In a series of interviews carried out with teachers who were active in the teachers' movement from its beginnings, (26) the following opinions with regard to what were these beginnings, were expressed:

"The origin of the teachers' movement, both in time and space, was multiple and in the beginning without any connection between the different outbreaks. In very general terms, I think that with regard to private schools it was in Madrid and around the "Colegio de Licenciados", about 1965, when the first clashes with the institutional structure of the Regime occurred. And in relation to state schools, the creation of the "Asociación de Catedráticos de Instituto" State Secondary teachers association, , also in 1965, marked the beginning of a labour struggle from within the institutions of the Regime itself. It was equally in

1965 when the first University Assembly took place in the University of Madrid, followed by a large demonstration...events from which the student movement started, which was going to play such an important part in the fight for democratic liberties and which had so many connections with the teachers' movement" (27)

"I think that the teachers' movement was a consequence of the incorporation of graduates who had taken part in the University in the Socialist and Communist parties, and in "Felipe" and who as soon as they entered their professional life, also joined the "Colegio Profesional", graduate association, and from this platform tried to attack the Dictator's Regime and tried, fundamentally to recover democratic liberties, however basing this struggle on the specific claims of the sector. Concrete claims and projects which went from the economic to trade union rights." (28)

"I would situate it, to be exact, recalling that democratic movement which existed with a certain entity in the year 1968. At that time we were in the Training College. A democratic movement began to develop in the College which had a certain level, if not very numerous it was interesting qualitatively. Then this connected with, at the end of '68 that generation of primary teachers who finished their studies at that moment and in 1970 were faced with the

Education Act. Then, united first to the democratic aspiration which was held by many primary teachers, the new ones, and the protest which the Act produced, which if it was not a very democratic project, was at least something new and caused a great deal of discussion." (29)

"I remember that at first in the Teachers' Training College we acted in a very autonomous manner. There was a passing of, shall we say influence, from all that happened in the University to the Training College, but the people who were active in the College had no organizational links with the University." (30)

"You have only referred to primary teachers. University contract teachers began a movement in 1967 and 1968 and the teachers in the Institutes followed... linked to the movement in the Training College and the primary teachers of 1968 and what represented the great protest and discussion around the White Paper." (31)

In general it can be said that the graduate teachers commenced the movement in most places, except Sevilla, and that Madrid was where the struggle started most actively within the private sector. The movement in state schools, as soon as it started, quickly spread to the whole country as the conditions were the same for all and the employer, the

Ministry of Education, was common to all.

Private Schools in Madrid

The initial steps began in Madrid and in the private sector, extremely numerous in large urban areas and especially in the capital. The following statistics showing the number of state pupils in Madrid in secondary education is illustrative:

Table No. 4.

Year	Total no. pupils	State pupils	%
1940	20,892	5,281	25.2
1950	41,030	4,026	9.8
1960	61,211	7,102	11.6
1974	119,112	30,293	25.4

(32)

The first steps were taken in the secondary sector, although in many private schools the two were joined. An attempt was made to use the opportunities offered by the legal platform of the "Colegio de Licenciados" and it was initially carried out by the graduate teachers who had had previous experience in the University on the left.

Within the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid the Falangists had taken control since the end of the Civil War. In the beginning of the sixties a group of Catholics, democrats and some army graduates began to question this control and in a very limited way, gather around them a group of people with more democratic ideas. When the younger graduates of the left, communists and socialists, arrived on the scene they supported this group.

The first battle was over a pseudo examination which was held in order to entitle members of religious orders to become secondary teachers without possessing a University degree. Secondary teachers were obliged to be University graduates, although in some private schools of the epoch the law was frequently infringed. This examination was a mere formality, designed to give an impression of legality to a situation of privilege. Since the vast majority of private schools belonged to religious orders, and the State sector had not yet really begun to increase in the secondary level, it is understandable that this protest was capable of mobilising teachers, independently of any anticlerical tendency, which of course also existed to some degree.

This examination had its origin in the Secondary Education Act of 1953 and was set up by a subsequent decree in 1960.

"As it was a problem really felt by the graduates, members of the "Colegio de Licenciados", this sparked off a critical, political attitude from these groups, which were not very numerous, about fifty persons at the most. However in view of the fact that this was 1964, it represented an important rejection and certainly a method of struggle which surprised the members of the Regime. That is being present in all the oral examinations, controlling the process, appearing in groups in the examination hall of the written tests, where at first they refused to let us in, but later on they turned a blind eye to us, really shocked them and to a certain extent we were able to control the situation. Some of these examinations were suspended because they were ashamed of what was occurring." (33) 1964-65 was the last year such examinations were held.

After this initial action of protest was carried out so successfully, more profound efforts were made to question the hold of the Falange on the "Colegio de Licenciados". The Ministry, with Lora Tamayo as Minister, fearful of an eventual access to power within the "Colegio" of persons definitely opposed to the Regime, increased the necessary years of membership required for candidates to five and for "Decano", Dean, to ten. This limited any possibility of presenting a radicalized candidature, which in any case would probably have frightened off the voters, who were still predominantly conservative and not yet prepared to enter into open opposition to the Regime.

"From this perspective it was necessary to look for a candidature which in the first place would consolidate the ample sectors who were anti-Falangist by definition and which could also make possible the best democratic consensus. These persons were found, there were members of the army, two priests, that is to say, there were people who transmitted a sensation of order and respectability within the status and conservative reality of the majority of teachers. The progressive groups supported this candidature and it was presented as a democratic alternative and won the elections." (34)

This newly elected group, in spite of its heterogeneous composition, and while not in open contradiction with the Regime, did permit the more preogressive, politically conscious elements of the left some space for action. They were enabled to organize cultural activities, debates and talks on such subjects as the trade union movement. This enabled the left to increase its social base, as many graduates attended these activities, but at the same time warned the pro-Regime elements of the need to put a stop to such advance. The "democratic" Government of the "colegio" was submitted to severe tensions, attacked on all sides, and its members gradually began to resign. Finally in a moment of much more open conflict, with the progressive group more clearly defined and the pro-Regime group more explicitly organized, in the Annual Assembly of 1967 a severe criticism was presented to the Government's annual report and the oposition won by 251 votes against and 122 in favour. In spite of the fact that the Dean, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Librarian and three more members had resigned, the Ministry of Education ordered te Government to continue. The "opposition" group circulated the members with an explanation of their action and a demand fo new elections. (35) The remaining members of the Government through the "Colegio's" Bulletin calumniated the progressive group who wer obliged to take legal action against them. This was finally settled out of court on the eve of the new

elections in 1969.

The opposition group kept up an offensive in order to try and force the elections in the "Colegio" and they sent a circular to the members, "Hacia la reforma del Colegio"(36), for the "Colegio's" reform, proposing the reform of the "Colegio" in order to turn it into a genuinely democratic instrument in defence of teachers' interests and for the benefit of the education system. They proposed the creating of a correct system of democratic procedure, of sections for different types of teachers, the creation of provincial "Colegios", the holding of seminars, etc. They continued to direct petitions to the Ministry in which they requested the holding of elections, in 1968 accompanied by 205 signatures. Elections were promised and should have been held in February 1969, but were postponed because of the state of emergency. The opposition again protested pointing out that elections had been held in the "Colegio" of Telecommunication Engineers during the state of emergency and the urgent need they had to enjoy a normal existence in the "Colegio" in order to discuss the White Paper on Education. Finally the elections were held in the summer term of 1969, an openly democratic, that is anti Regime, candidature was presented by the opposition and lost. (37) The "FERE" organized a massive attendance of nuns and monks or priests of the teaching orders. The results were 643

votes to 480 and according to newspaper accounts, at least 400 of the winning votes were members of religious orders which decided the victory.(38)

The new government was not politically uniform, had a more democratic attitude than the earlier Falangist ones and was inevitably effected by the democratic attitudes of the candidature which had opposed it. So once more, some participation was allowed to the opposition and indeed a notable event took place in the Annual Assembly in 1970, attended by over a thousand graduates. A teacher, Ma. Angeles Olagorta, a Catholic of progressive left ideas who taught in a private convent school, presented a motion asking for amnesty, which meant amnesty for all political prisoners. This action had been, of course, carefully prepared by the clandestine organizations and caused great impact. In this same Assembly a proposal for new, more democratic Statutes for the "Colegio" were proposed and voted for, with one vote against and two abstentions.

During this period the activity of the different commissions established in the "Colegio" was considerable: amendments to the Education Bill, a proposal of statute for the state teachers, the discussion of a proposal of wages and work conditions agreement for private teachers, the proposal of Statutes for the "Colegio" and also a proposal of an

internal Working Regulation for the "Colegio".

The Dean of this Government was a democrat of what would be considered centre right tendencies, but he met with internal contradictions from the elements who tried to isolate the opposition totally, so that finally all of them resigned at the end of 1970.

From then on the Ministry, conscious of the dangers which this platform represented, left in charge a "Junta Gestora" or interim nominated committee which took the place of the elected government, and illegally prohibited the holding of elections until 1973, when an openly left wing candidature won.

It is interesting to note what the statistics reveal about the "Colegio" of Madrid during the period we have been studying:

Table No. 5.

Year	Number of members
1954	1,168
1960	2,262
1965	4,032
1969	6,028

(39)

The importance of these early battles in the "Colegio" of Madrid was that it gave the opposition the opportunity of coming together, giving a limited airing of their views and reaching a greater cohesion in their policies as they came into touch with more and more teachers. It was a restricted opportunity of course, both because of the conservative nature of the institution itself, the power exercised by the undemocratic elements in it and because it excluded primary teachers, except those few who had also acquired a university degree.

Whenever the "Colegio's" doors were closed, other legal platforms were sought. In a private institution, C.E.I.S.A., Centre of Education and Investigation, Ltd. created by the Christian democrat ex-Minister Ruiz Jimenez, meetings, talks and debates commenced in the form of seminars. There were various courses and seminars and the Teachers' one was very active and continued to meet under certain police harassment. Indeed this seminary was the cause of a temporary closing of the premises by the police. As the majority of those attending were employed in the private sector, the leaders, socialists and communists, decided to draw up a proposal of a collective agreement (Convenio

Colectivo) for the sector. This was a new experience for all concerned and linked everyone to the common practice of the labour movement. As with other workers, such texts contained a preamble in which the theoretical framework and a more developed alternative proposal for education policy began to appear.

The process of drawing up this agreement led to an analysis of the sector and a wider study of possible alternatives. This took place especially among the organized groups who then submitted their conclusions and proposals to the weekly meeting on a wider level. The meetings were held every Sunday morning and following the model of the labour movement, began to call themselves "Comisiones de Enseñanza", Teachers' Commissions, although not too publically and, certainly in the first stage, never signing themselves as such. This participation in CEISA took place especially from 1966 till 1969.

Already some of the more politicised members of this movement, a small vanguard, had participated in the State Vertical Union elections of 1966 and held posts at provincial and even national level. In order to force the discussion of the "Convenio Colectivo", salary agreement, which depended on the Vertical Union's decision and initiative they tried with no success to hold meetings in

the Vertical Union's premises. The project of a salary and working conditions agreement which the Teachers' Commissions had drawn up in CEISA was handed around, from school to school on a personal basis, for signing and presented to the Provincial Teachers State Vertical Union in the early part of 1968. In September the proprietors of schools met and stated that they would not negotiate until 1969.

In spite of various petitions, the State Vertical Union refused to give permission for any meetings in their premises, so the teachers held an illegal assembly on a Sunday morning in a Convent of Irish nuns, which belonged to the Loreto order, the nuns themselves being Spanish of course. This was attended by over 400 teachers. The illegality consisted in not having asked for permission from the police to hold the meeting, though permission had been received from the nuns. The secret police, always vigilant on Sundays trying to discover meetings of political parties or the Workers Commissions, followed some of the teachers who reached the meeting clandestinely through a series of appointments and surprised the Assembly, arresting four people and confiscating everybody's identity card. They were all obliged to collect them later from the Central Police Station. This meant the police controlled all the active members of the movement, baptized by them as the "Workers Commissions, teachers' branch", a gross exaggeration at the

time!

This repression which was widely reported in the newspapers, with notes appearing almost every day while the teachers were still arrested, drew attention to the movement and even increased its influence. (40)

The beginnings of the movement in Madrid, were of special importance because they had great repercussions in the rest of the country. They were frequently used as a model. It was logical that the movement commenced in the private sector, the largest in Spain, whereas the state sector was more often the first to move in other areas.

The influence and participation of members of the clandestine political parties was, as we have shown important. Within these parties themselves, perhaps the only one to pay detailed attention to this sector as a possible important element in the "alliance of forces of work and culture" were the communists. A sectorial organization of teachers was formed in Madrid and each sector was studied. Clandestine meetings were held in 1966 and 1970 abroad, to which teachers from all the regions of the country where there existed organized communist teachers, attended and discussed the alternative and methods of struggle. Fruits of their first analysis of the education system in Spain was

the book "Enseñanza en España" which was collectively written by different clandestine groups and finally put together abroad. The work took over a year during 1968 and 1969 because of the difficult conditions. From the start teachers were treated as a sector which formed part of the labour movement with its own specific problems, as well as being a group of the "forces of culture" with an ideological and social influence in the community. The documents arising out of such meetings were circulated clandestinely throughout the country and helped to stimulate the start of the movement in different parts of Spain and to contribute to a collectively drawn up policy in spite of repression and the necessarily clandestine conditions.

Religious Order Schools

in 1940 in Madrid there were seven State Secondary schools and in 1960 this number had not changed, so the principal growth in school places was in the private sector and especially in the religious order schools. For example the following statistics show their growth in Spain:

Table No. 6.

1953.

119 State secondary schools.

572 religious order schools

432 secular schools

1959 119 state secondary schools

706 religious order schools

361 secular schools

(41)

In 1957 the Spanish Federation of religious orders in teaching, FERE, was created in order to defend the interests of this important group. As soon as they realized, at the end of the sixties, that the teachers were beginning to struggle in order to achieve their basic rights, they decided it was time to comply with the law and began to give paid holidays, written contracts and social security as a matter of course and not as a result of struggle. However there continued to be ideological dismissals, particularly as the resistance movement grew and many religious schools realized that their lay teachers were, what they would term, "reds" or influenced by "reds". The predominance of teachers who were old pupils and remained faithful to the philosophy and ideology of the schools was greater in smaller provincial towns, but in large cities the lay staff was heterogeneous. In any case, even old pupils were not immune to the new social and political attitudes as the student movement was every day demonstrating, a large proportion of whom had been educated in these elitist religious schools.

This situation led to a special tension and virulent battles within the "Colegio" between religious and progressive lay teachers, which increased during the seventies. There were also, of course, progressive religious teachers, but they were a minority. They served most important roles in helping the resistance movement's infrastructure, rooms for clandestine meetings, limited protection from the police, duplicating machines etc. In most religious orders there was a progressive wing, which however was open to internal repression within the order. Its members, for example, might be removed from city schools to remote country areas if their activities became too noticeable.

The FERE was a powerful pressure group and very active in defending its interests in such matters as State funding for their schools. They even operated independently from the Bishops, in the sense that they sent their donations direct to Rome and not through the hierarchy. In the more progressive anti-Regime moments of the hierarchy, they did not share their attitude and in general, remained allied to the most reactionary part of the country and the Church.

State Teachers

In the State sector the resistance movement's origins

affected three different groups of teachers who began to organize themselves and act, in different moments in time and in different areas of the country. However the common conditions of all State teachers being dependent on the Ministry of Education who appointed and paid them, made the possibility of reaching nation wide actions a real perspective.

The teachers were of three varieties in the secondary level and two in the primary one, but the great difference was between the teachers who had passed the "oposiciones" and become civil servants, "in possession" of their post as teacher and those who were contracted without any security of tenure in their jobs.

In State Secondary schools there were, as we have said, three different types of teachers, "Catedráticos" or professors with a "chair" as in University education, who were automatically head of the department and, of course civil servants; "Adjuntos" who were assistants to the former and also civil servants: finally there were "interinos" or "temporary" teachers who were appointed to schools with the "Catedrático's" approval and had no security of tenure or fixed contracts. The more privileged sector were the "catedráticos" and "agregados" who were "numerarios" and who by reason of their status were guaranteed permanent

employment and could move from school to school in different parts of the country, according to a system of points acquired by length of service and academic merits. They were the best paid in a poorly paid profession and achieved a certain social status. Within the total and complex collective composed of State and private, primary and secondary teachers, the "Catedráticos" represented 1% of all teachers, the "Agregados" 1.5% and the "Interinos" 2.6%.
(42)

In 1965 the Association of "Catedráticos" was created, dependent on the National Movement, but with quite a liberal and autonomous statute, which immediately concerned itself with economic and professional matters. It functioned at times as an embryo union but always with a corporative orientation. In spite of its essentially elitist nature, a defence of the "Catedrático's" status and privileges with respect to other secondary teachers being its *raison d'être*, nevertheless at provincial and even national level, communist, socialist and progressive Catholic teachers managed to get themselves elected and to transform the Association into a forum whose debates frequently led to progressive anti-Regime positions. This was a difficult and slow moving process and the political basis to such positions could rarely be as explicit as in other sectors; nevertheless the use of its prestige and autonomy against

the Regime, in however guarded a fashion, was an important element in the creation of a state of opinion and critical consciousness among teachers.

This activity "was mixed for years with a corporativist attitude in the case of the Association of "Catedráticos", in whose national leadership appeared both persons already well known for their political significance contrary to the Regime and persons who were taking advantage of their position to combat Opus Dei and the reformist tendencies of the Regime from the point of view of the old National Movement" (43) As to what extent the various provincial committees, or the National committee or Executive really represented the bulk of opinion among its members when it adopted progressive attitudes is debatable. The energy and ability of the politically active members, probably greatly exceeded the inertia of the reactionary mass, which was undoubtedly numerically far superior.

The "Adjuntos" association's statutes were not as liberal as the "Catedrático's". This type of teacher had only been created in 1960 and were considered as somewhat second class. When the "Catedráticos" Association was created it was intended to include the "Adjuntos", but for class reasons the "Catedráticos" refused to have them. As a result their Association was created two years later and two

Falange "procuradores", Lostau and Puig Maestro Amado, who were politically active, formed part of the leadership from the start. As a result the Falange kept more control and held a greater influence in their activities and the opinions they expressed. Nevertheless, although to a much lesser degree than in the former association, they too managed to express critical opinions concerning the Regime's treatment of teachers and some progressive members managed to achieve certain influence.

The third group of teachers in secondary State schools, the "interinos" or "PNN", that is non numerary teachers, as they came to be known as, led to the development of a nation wide struggle of considerable importance. This arose in the late sixties, due to the creation of several new State Secondary Schools in the academic year 1967-1968. In order to supply these schools with teachers, as the numbers of pupils increased, the State had continual resource to the "PNN" who were much more economical and more readily available than the civil servant teachers. The latter's posts had to be established in advance, in accordance with the Ministry's yearly Budget and provision made for the salary. In other words real educational planning was involved in the creation of such posts and the money had to be forthcoming. The "PNN" was introduced "provisionally" in 1939 in order to replace the teachers who were purged after the war and in 1970, they

represented no less than 50% of the teachers in State Secondary Schools. These teachers worked longer hours, had to accept the worst timetables, received much lower salaries and their security of tenure was limited to one school year.

According to the White Paper's criticism, such teachers lacked training and scientific preparation for their task, since they had not passed the competitive examination (oposiciones) nor had any specific professional training. "From which one may deduce the fact that, according to the White Paper's bureaucratic criteria, either the great majority of pupils are cheated by the Regime, or these teachers are clearly discriminated against." (44)

The new mass of PNNs were mainly recruited from the young graduates who emerged from the University experience of the sixties. Although their nomination responded to a situation of privilege, friends or relations of "catdráticos", etc. and they were better paid than a teacher in the private sector, nevertheless their total lack of job security and their situation of professional discrimination within the school, were sufficient causes for their mobilization. Their fight for job security quickly monopolized the struggle in the State Secondary sector. It was a clear political struggle in the sense that it was directed against the Ministry of Education and denounced the quality of teaching in that

sector. Obviously it attracted support from all kinds of teachers in the ranks of the "PNNs", from those who simply proposed an advantageous or even privileged solution to their particular problem, that is a restricted access to the "oposición", or competitive entrance examination, whose competitiveness would be considerably reduced, as both unemployed teachers and those from the private sector would be excluded, to those who proposed a total reform of the education system and an open political attack on the Regime.

Within this struggle there was considerable debate, including within the left political parties, as to how the solution to their situation should be formulated. On the one hand there was the proposal, following the University "PNNs" example, of a labour contract, that is the same conditions as a worker in the private sector and the elimination of the figure of civil servant teacher. On the other hand, the possibility of converting such teachers into civil servants, by some such means as a restricted entrance examination, was seen to be a pragmatic method of resolving the situation. In the University these two proposals had a profound ideological content, the former representing a new vision of the University liberated from the stranglehold of the lifelong Chairs. In the secondary sector, for some, highly politicised, the same applied and the elimination of the civil servant teacher formed part of a general scheme for

the regeneration of the school system. However, for the majority a more pragmatic approach prevailed and the simplest and most realistic solution was sought.

This important struggle, which will be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters, affected the other groups of teachers in the system, "it meant that within the Associations of "Catedráticos" and "Adjuntos" members were forced to take sides between corporativist positions and combative positions in open opposition to the Regime, in so far as they accepted and supported or not the "PNNs\'" claims. This permitted, in general, the democratic positions to gain greater influence in the Associations and it displaced, in some cases definitively, the pro Franco elements within these institutions which had been created a few years before as an appendix of the National Movement."

(45)

State Primary Teachers

The most important group of teachers, numerically, representing 57,2% of the total (46) were the State Primary teachers known as "Maestros Nacionales". As we have seen in the beginning of this Chapter, they were most severely controlled by the Falange from the start and indeed, considered in the majority to belong to the National

Movement, through their affiliation to the "SEM". Because of their greater isolation, the primary teacher was the only one to reach almost every village of the vast and varied geography of Spain, their vulnerability in small and medium sized communities where they were carefully watched by the parish priest, the Falange chiefs, the Police and the more conservative elements of society, and their initial experience in the Teachers' Training College, so different from the University, this was a sector where any political or labour orientated type of activity was much more difficult.

However their situation was so dramatic that inevitably confrontation was going to arise. In the early sixties there were initial attempts to use the SEM in order to reach teachers and try to organize a movement. This failed because of the restrictions of the organization, in no way comparable to the Association of "Catedráticos" but did serve as a tiny sample of the immense discontent which existed in this sector. Later on, as the Falange elements were entering into greater opposition towards the Opus Government, in the seventies the SEM itself decided to try to use the primary teachers demagogically as an instrument with which to attack the Government. This proved to be like the Sorcerer's apprentice, as far as the SEM was concerned. The teachers once started on the road of action to achieve

satisfaction to their many claims, threw overboard the restrictions and demagogic hypocrisy of the SEM and started a battle of open conflict with the Regime.

Before this happened there were attempts in both Sevilla, Barcelona and Madrid to organize and mobilize state primary teachers. Very small actions took place which nevertheless were of enormous importance as they served to demonstrate that such a position was possible and to break down the state primary teacher's isolation. This group of teachers were not, at first as permeable as others; due to their difficult conditions, the experience of other teachers did not automatically cause them to start acting themselves. "At this point I was not conscious of creating (teachers' commissions). I was conscious that we were forming a group and that it belonged to our state primary sector. That was fundamental, that it was a matter for state primary teachers, organized by state primary teachers....For me, at that time it did not matter if there were different political options, what mattered to me was that in the assemblies we were working for ourselves" (47)

Although there were "interinos", temporary, insecure contracted teachers in the state primary schools, their situation was not comparable to that of the secondary schools. In the first place they were far fewer and their

situation was genuinely temporary until they passed the "oposiciones" which were not nearly so selective as in secondary. They earned almost the same as a civil servant teacher. However in Sevilla, for example, they did form the initial group who began the movement in the state primary sector. Their claims were almost identical to the civil servant primary teachers' so that they did serve as a stimulus to the struggle in general in their sector. On the whole, it may be said that the movement in this sector was much slower starting and it was not until the decade of the seventies that it assumed really important dimensions.

Teachers demands

The clandestine leaflets that were laboriously reproduced at the time, show a constant preoccupation with the analysis of the sector (48), in which the most outstanding feature was the extreme and complicated divisions of a discriminatory nature which existed among teachers. This led to a great insistence on the unification of these different categories, finally formulated, at first as a slogan, but subsequently developed theoretically, as "Cuerpo Unico Docente", One body of teachers. It was even reflected linguistically in the adoption of the word "enseñante" to overcome the division "maestro" applied to primary teachers and "licenciado", graduate, applied to secondary teachers. The use of the word

"enseñante" when speaking of teachers, immediately identified the speaker, at that time, as a person at least sympathetic to the opposition movement. The more radical revolutionary preferred the term "trabajador de la enseñanza", worker in education.

The same obsession with unity, arising out of such a fragmented and divided sector, also led to the formulation of the "Ciclo Unico", one cycle of education for all pupils until the age of 16 or 18, without any discriminatory divisions or selective processes within it, and a unified, representative Trade Union for teachers.

Within each level there were different claims. In all, of course, but especially in the private sector and primary in general, the salary claim was predominant owing to the miserable level they were receiving. The private sector also wished to achieve the removal of the divisions of schools according to the number of pupils, which had repercussions in their salaries. In the case of "PNNs" work stability was the most important factor while the secondary State teachers had salary and professional claims.

The fact that any step forward in the struggle meant a clash with the Regime and repression of various kinds, from arrests and trials, to the prohibition of meetings and

cultural events and the confiscation of publications and subsequent fines, contributed very quickly to a more and more profound politicization of the vanguard of these professional groups. This meant that the demand for democratic rights such as freedom of association, of holding meetings, of speech were added to their demands. These were all the more acutely felt because, like other professional groups, they enjoyed the privilege of belonging to professional associations, such as the "Colegio de Licenciados", that is except the primary teachers. The very limitations of these associations and the additional results of the repression applied to the association, made them all the more conscious of a need for platforms and adequate instruments of defence. However, unlike most of the other professions, teachers were all salaried workers on a low scale of remuneration and this caused them to look more towards the workers' methods of struggles, as will be shown in the following chapter.

Finally their professional dissatisfaction led them to formulate educational demands, such as the Single Cycle, the reduction of the teacher pupil ratio and more freedom of expression for the teacher.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have shown how a new opposition emerged from the terrible post war period in Spain. The situation of the schools and the ideological climate of the first period of fascism is described, when the original confrontation established in the Civil War was still carried on with great heroism and under almost impossible circumstances. With the political changes after the II World War, the break down of Spain's isolation, American aid, entry into UNO and the beginning of industrial and economic growth, a marked change was produced in Spanish society.

As the clandestine political parties of the opposition became aware of these changes and the people, emerging from the post war years of hunger and isolation, began to demand a better standard of living, education became a central theme of these demands. The inability of the Regime to meet these adequately caused a great increase in the private sector, dominated by the Church and a slow increase in state schools.

Teachers themselves, as a social group, are analysed and the different situations of different types of teachers are examined in an effort to show how, where and when the teachers' resistance movement commenced. It is obvious that three dominant factors prevailed and conditioned this awakening: the poor economic situation of all these

teachers, their difficult professional situation and lack of freedom, in the first place, the availability or not of some form of legal association, however limited, which served as an initial meeting point, in the second place, and thirdly the influence of the influx of young teachers with political experience during their student days. These three factors made the teaching group in question more receptive to the anti Regime attitudes that were appearing in society, led by the workers and students struggle.

Fianlly it is shown how the peculiar structure of the education system with its complex divisions, conditioned the proposals and demands which this movement formulated. From the very beginning the seeds of what was to become their "Alternative" in education were there. Teachers developed their demands to include political elements and, at the same time, were concerned about their professional activity and the need for a genuine democratic reform. This was visible in their earliest, difficult steps, and will continue in their constant search for a means of expression as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter.

Notes.

1. "In order to reflect the Regime's attitude to secondary education, not only did they

not build new schools in this level, but they even closed many of those created by the Republic; it is enough to quote the Order, 13th September, 1937, in which the first article states: "From the 1st November and for all the academic year, the following State Secondary Schools will be closed". There followed a list of 38 schools. Bozal et al. Op. cit. Mariano Perez Galan Page 275.

2. Chueca, El fascismo en los comienzos del Regimen de Franco. Madrid, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1983. Page 316.
3. Ibid. Page 317
4. Tufon de Lara. Op. cit. Page 437.
5. Chueca. Op. cit. Page 318.
6. Ibid, Page 323.
7. Following the Inspectors' Circular of the 5th March 1936, on the 14th September 1939, on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy

Cross, crucifixes and portraits of Franco were placed in every classroom.

The Spanish painter, Juan Genoves, in the early months of 1975, prophetically painted a picture entitled "Official Portrait", in which are depicted some students seizing from a classroom wall a rather blurred portrait and throwing it to the floor. This was instantly recognizable by anyone who had sat in those classrooms and indeed, the scene was reenacted in reality, when the Dictator died later in the same year.

8. Sueiro and Diaz Nosty. Op. cit. Page 284.
9. Revista Nacional de Educación. Madrid, January 1943.
10. Sueiro and Diaz Nosty. Op. cit. Page 288.
11. Ibid. Page 296.
12. "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" Barcelona, Sept. 1975. Equipo de Estudios. Page 29.

13. Idem. Page 36. and Min. de Educación.
"La Educación en España. Bases para
una política educativa" Madrid 1969.
Page 175.
14. Sueiro and Diaz Nosty. Op. cit. Page 229.
15. Tuñon de Lara. Op. cit. Page 255.
16. Maravall, Dictatorship and Political
Disent, London, Tavistock Publications,
1978, Page 22.
17. Preston, "The Dilemma of Credibility"
Government and Opposition. Vol. 11
London, Winter 1976. Page 72.
18. Tuñon de Lara. Op. cit. Page 404.
19. Fernandez Vargas, La resistencia
interior en la España de Franco, Madrid
Ediciones Istme, 1981. Page 260.
20. Tuñon de Lara. Op. cit Page 355.
21. Min. de Educación, La Educación en

España Bases para una politica educativa,
Madrid, 1969. Page 26.

22. Instituto Nacional de Estadística,
Estadística de la Enseñanza en España
Curso 1972-73, Madrid, 1974.
23. Gomez Barnusell, El Magisterio como pro-
fesión, Barcelona, Ariel 1072 Page 146.
24. Idem. Page 166.
25. Min. Educación, Bases para una Política
educativa, Page 54.
26. As explained in the introduction, the teachers
selected for interview were all activists in
the sixties in the teachers' movement, continue
in education, either as teachers or in educational
administration, etc.
27. Jose Manuel Torre Arca who was a "cate-
drático" and President of the Assoc.
in Asturias. Subsequently, in democracy
he was appointed provincial delegate of
the Min. of Education in Soria.

28. Mariano Perez Galán who was a secondary teacher in the private sector and became secretary of the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid when the progressive candidature won the elections in 1973. In 1983 he became adviser to the Presidency of the Spanish Government on education.
29. Jesús Gallego who was a primary teacher in the private sector in Sevilla and became President of the Employees' Sector of the Vertical Teachers' Union.
30. Carlos Abadía who was a State primary teacher in Sevilla.
31. Jose Maria Fernandez Ruiz-Tapeador who was a secondary teacher in the State sector (PNN) in Sevilla. He was a member of the Governing Body of the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Sevilla.
32. Olivera, La Enseñanza en Madrid, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños,

1978, Page 170.

33. Mariano Perz Galán.
34. Ibid.
35. See appendix A: "Informative Note."
36. Author's archives.
37. See appendix A: "Why we lost the elections"
38. "Informaciones", Madrid evening paper.
20th May 1969.
39. Mariano Perez Galán. "La suspensión
de unas elecciones".
40. See appendix A: "Report on the collective
agreement for teachers."
41. Olivera. Op. cit. Page 169.
42. See appendix A: "Teachers".
43. Jose Manuel Torre Arca.

- 44. "Realidad". La Ley de Educación.
- 45. Jose Manuel Torre Arca.
- 46. See appendix A: "Teachers"
- 47. Jesús Gallego
- 48. See appendix A: "Teachers"

Part Two. The opposition in education

Chapter Six. Teachers find a means of coordinating

Introduction:

In this chapter the search for legal platforms as a vital necessity for the teachers' movement's expansion is examined and the different and varied solutions that were found. It is shown how the two major movements in the country, the workers' and the students' movements, served as models to a certain extent, but the specific characteristics of teachers' conditions made their methods and platforms original.

The nature of these varied platforms, their advantages and limitations, are studied and the manner in which each one conditioned the activities and style of the work carried out within them. The experiences of Madrid are examined in more detail, but reference is made to similar experiences in other parts of the country.

Since most of these platforms already existed, although some were specifically created for the opposition's purposes, they were obviously platforms used with greater or lesser

intensity by the Regime, usually either the Falangists or the Church, in this case the FERE. By occupying such platforms, the opposition entered into an open confrontation with some elements of the Regime and while the repressive instruments were always available, the police could prohibit events, close premises, arrest people and impose fines, nevertheless even in such a limited legality certain space had to be allowed for this confrontation. This thesis maintains that by increasing this narrow space and forcing it to open up, the opposition were in a very real way attacking the Regime and undermining its supports. They had to rob these platforms from the different elements of the Regime.

It is crucial to recognise that this process conditioned the content of the teachers' movement and the manner in which they were forced to express their proposals. Obviously the conquest of these "open spaces" was never secure nor definite and was always used in order to force the movement a step further and enter into more open political and labour action. This latter phase will be studied in the next chapter.

The search for legal platforms

For a movement with democratic intentions which aspires to

presenting its policies and solutions to problems and thereby gaining support and following, the lack of democratic liberties, so often taken for granted in societies which have enjoyed them for long periods, is a crippling handicap. The overcoming of this handicap brings into play great imagination and inventiveness and tends to influence and form the style of work. In the case of the teachers' movement there were two obvious models, the University students' movement, which many of them had participated in, and the workers' movement. With the former they shared certain privileges, which however were quickly curtailed by the repression as will be demonstrated, and with the latter an obvious possibility, the State Vertical Union.

One of the great problems of the teachers sector was the dispersion, schools were not large and were spread all over the cities and the country villages. The students were all together in the University and assemblies could be held with relative ease, if the police did not enter the lecture halls and stop them. But for teachers to get together was much more complicated.

In Madrid, when preparing the initial activities in the "Colegio de Licenciados" the progressive group found that the older members of the Catholic and more or less liberal

graduates had established the custom of organizing a dinner on the feast of Saint Thomas Aquinas, patron saint of secondary teachers. This dinner was a purely professional affair, but the progressive group of the opposition continued the custom and in 1967 tried to introduce a more combative element in one after dinner speech which attempted some mild criticism in the presence of the President of the State Vertical Teachers' Union. The following year they organized it carefully, preparing a member of each sector to speak and again inviting the National President of the Teachers State Vertical Union, Iglesias Selgas. Many teachers attended the dinner and with each speech the guest of honour found himself swamped with denunciations of the real situation of teachers in all types of schools. He tried to reply and at one point entered into dialogue with a primary teacher over his readmission. (1) This teacher, who had been in the state sector until the Civil War, served prison sentences, was expelled from the state sector and worked in the private one, finally called out for amnesty and was echoed by nearly all the teachers present, on their feet, shouting for amnesty. The teachers sent reports of the dinner to all the newspapers and Iglesias Selgas felt bound to clarify his position in a letter to "Nuevo Diario" the Opus newspaper, in which he listed the teachers' claims and apparently offered manners of resolving them and stated that "all those who intervened did so with total respect and

within a constructive attitude of collaboration, to such an extent that it was possible, for us to thank everybody for not having created, during our lengthy and animated discussion, the slightest difficulty for me personally, nor for the post which I represent" (2) However he never attended the dinner again. In 1969 the Secretary and Undersecretary of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education were the guests of honour and the proposal was to discuss the recently published "White Paper"; St. Thomas Aquinas' feast day was the 23rd March. However the police suspended this dinner, it was of course during the State of Emergency, and another year they too attended, sitting down at the tables and waiting for the speeches in an atmosphere of great tension.

This is a small example of how, by using a normal, traditional and fairly stuffy event, a dinner on the day of the patron saint, teachers were able to turn it into a platform from which to voice their professional and labour claims, while the dynamism of this process led it another step forward into the most advanced political demand of the day which was amnesty. Amnesty summed up people's criticism of the Regime's repressive methods, popular solidarity with its victims and the demand for civil rights.

In the same natural way, teachers in Seville recalled how

their first important action when they were in their last year of the Training College was prepared in the swimming pool. The students went to the swimming pool as a matter of course and there discussed their problems which led to an important strike and connected with the University struggle.

The State Vertical Union of Teachers

The National State Union of Teachers was created in April 1964; before that teachers had belonged to the Union of "Diverse Activities". Obviously its creation responded to the growing importance of the private sector and to a desire on the part of the Falangists to increase their role in education, as well as a precautionary step in view of the signs of stirring among teachers. "The Vertical Union of Teachers which the Regime create belatedly, within the official Union, in order to try and direct and control the first salary and labour claims of teachers." (3) The President, Carlos Iglesias Selgas, already referred to, had political ambitions and found himself in a constant contradiction between a certain populist, demagogic leaning towards change and the rigidity of the Regime; however he always resolved this problem with an unquestioning loyalty to Franco.

A teacher or any other employee in a private school did not

have to "join" this Union, he was automatically a member of it and a small subscription was equally automatically discounted at source from his or her salary. The Union was divided into two sections, the Economic section, who were the employers, owners of the schools, and the Social Section who were all the employees. Each school with more than 6 employees had the right to elect one delegate or "enlace", with more than 25 two delegates, more than 50 three and from a hundred to two hundred and fifty eight delegates and so on, although there were very few schools with over a hundred employees. In order to be elected teachers had to have worked for three years in the profession and for a year in the school where they presented themselves and had to be either proposed by members of the Union or by three electors. (4) The top posts were not elected but named by the Government

In the Union elections of 1963, the Workers Commissions had participated with some success in Madrid and Barcelona and had made use of their position to hold meetings in the Union premises. In 1964 the metal workers of Madrid held weekly meetings in the Union and formally constituted their "Commission" and acted openly as such for a period of three months, when they were forbidden by the Union bosses.

Following this example, teachers, both Communists and

Socialists, the latter ignoring UGT's policy of non participation, and anti franquists in general, presented themselves and managed to get a number of delegates elected. They even rose in the scale of representative posts up to national level. This was possible because the movement as such was in its infancy and the ideology of the candidates was not suspected. From such a middle class, submissive, badly paid sector neither the Union bureaucrats nor the police at first expected to find members of the clandestine Communist and Socialist parties. In the subsequent elections held in 1969, many more delegates were elected in private schools, especially in Madrid and Sevilla. After each election the teachers' movement was able to incorporate delegates who had simply presented themselves in their schools without having any connection with an organized activity.

The opportunities which these posts offered for mobilizing teachers and presenting alternatives were very important in the restrictions of the epoch. At the level of the school, the delegate could endeavour to protect his or her companions' interests and defend cases of injustice and discrimination. Frequently such a defence was more of a moral nature than a practical one, as the bosses were well protected by the prevailing legislation, but the presence of a delegate helped encourage teachers to fight for their

legal rights at least.

On a wider level, during the period leading up to the demand for a "Convenio Colectivo" (5) or collective bargaining to be applied at provincial or national level, the union representatives could use their position to legalize meetings. By the time teachers had begun to mobilize, of course, the Vertical Union bureaucrats were already prohibiting meetings in their premises. The National Union's premises for all trades was a very large building in a central street in front of the Prado Museum (6), with large halls etc. which remained largely unused. In Madrid alternative halls were sought, but those years of struggle were continually marked by the police prohibiting the use of different premises and finally, the arrest of some of the attendants of an assembly held in a convent school, of the Irish nuns, already referred to in the previous chapter. After these arrests a document was presented in the Union addressed to Iglesias Selgas, signed by 300 teachers, expressing their indignation at the police's interruption of the meeting and subsequent arrests, pointing out that they had repeatedly requested the use of the Union's premises, including one petition with a thousand signatures, to no avail and demanding that the Union be opened up to teachers and employees for their meetings.(7)

Teachers were accustomed to going to the State Vertical Union for information, so the delegates of the teachers' movement took advantage of these natural circumstances and attended there and tried to talk to teachers and explain the aims of the movement. This was always a hazardous operation and frequently ended in threats of the police being called.

In July 1969 the "Convenio Colectivo" giving a 20% rise was finally signed. This spectacular rise serves really to indicate the appalling level of salaries teacher received. In the negotiating commission, on the teachers' side there were two real representatives of the teachers' movement and six stooges or loyal yes men who would sign whatever agreement the employers wished. The real representatives of teachers' interests refused to sign as the greater part of the teachers demands had not been met with. When the "Covenio" was formally signed again in the Ministry of Labour, a legal requisite, the two representatives were not even asked to attend. One of them wrote to newspaper in protest. (8)

Before the end of that same year the teachers denounced the "Convenio", with a document signed by 700 teachers, this was the mechanism for obliging a new agreement to be discussed. In order to force the negotiations, teachers would gather at a prearranged time and demand to speak to the President. The police were always called on such occasions and indeed, if

anybody had been careless about observing the obligatory security measures, were already waiting when teachers arrived. In November of 1969 about fifty teachers occupied a room in the provincial Union and held a discussion on their problems until the police arrived to evict them, with no arrests however. These actions were intended to express resistance openly and to draw attention to teachers' situation. Reports were immediately written up by members of the movement, in a nearby cafe, and delivered to the different newspapers who generally published them in a totally neutral manner. It was the only possible method available to inform public opinion of the teachers' resistance movement.

The drawing up and discussion of draft versions of the "Convenio Colectivo", as we have already stated, was a method both of analysis and discovery for the teachers involved, as well as a manner of formulating teachers' demands. Once the document had been drawn up it could be used to inform teachers of the private sector in general and endeavour to mobilize them, always using the limited protection which the Vertical State Union's posts offered. In actual fact the pressure caused by this sort of activity had two interesting results, on the one hand teachers were informed and on the other the "FERE" as we have shown in the previous chapter, realizing that mobilization was taking

place, decided to comply with existing legality and almost overnight, all teachers in religious order schools were given legal contracts and entered into the Social Security Scheme.

When the time came to discuss the "Convenio" the original document drawn up by teachers soon appeared totally utopic. This was inevitable as conditions were so bad that any, even quite modest claims, appeared far too advanced. Interestingly enough, the religious schools, or rather some of the more prosperous orders, would have been prepared to improve teachers' salaries, but at the last moment they always decided to let the proprietors with the most miserable outlook, that is owners of schools with very little capital and poor material conditions, negotiate with the teachers. Inevitably the final role of the teachers' real representatives was to leave the negotiations with dignity, refusing to sign the agreement. However even such minor advances did improve teachers' conditions.

The whole process we have described, formulation of teachers' demands, laborious popularisation of these demands, attempts at mobilization, did help to create and consolidate a movement among private teachers and to point towards the possibility of a real trade union practice. It also, of course, improved teachers' conditions very

gradually. However the lack of real trade union liberties made teachers and administrative and ancillary staff especially, regard the State Vertical Union as a centre of bureaucratic decision, disconnected from the necessary struggle and pressure which the vanguard carried out in such adverse circumstances.

Another important role of the State Vertical Union was in the case of dismissals. The first steps took place in the Union which then led on to the Labour Court, where readmissions (almost impossible to achieve as in firms with fewer than 100 employees, readmission was not obligatory) or compensation could be fought for. Once more following the example of the labour movement, labour lawyers were used and some specialists in teachers' problems grew up. The role of these lawyers was of great importance. They were without exception, politically committed to an active resistance of the Regime and were usually organised in a clandestine political party. Their offices provided meeting places where the more active members of the movement would introduce teachers with labour problems, knowing that they could count on the lawyer in question to give a full explanation of the movements' objectives and perspectives, as he explained the line of defence. In the labour movement such cases were sometimes converted into political gestures and used as a means of giving greater publicity to the workers' resistance

and aspirations over and above the simple defence of specific workers' rights. In the case of teachers this did not often arise, but the mere fact of the court case being celebrated, of colleagues acting as witnesses (a hazardous task which could frequently lead to the witness's subsequent dismissal), of the presence in court among the public of other colleagues and members of the movement, helped to foment solidarity and increase the struggle for professional dignity.

The whole question of professional dignity and of regarding one's work as a profession, was indeed central to the struggle. Added to the miserable salary suffered by private teachers, were a series of humiliations and even petty corruptions with regard to pupils' results (teachers could be asked to pass all their pupils in order to enhance the school's reputation or to fail a sufficient number in order to make the summer remedial course profitable) which helped to undermine teachers' morale and confirm their own low opinion of their professional activity. The sordid conditions of many schools combined with the bureaucratic, routine attitude to teaching, where the only pedagogic control exercised was in fact an ideological and political control, made it difficult for teachers to envisage their profession as a dignified, useful occupation. "There is no need to say that the "Convenio", which has been fought for

for so many months, during which the cost of living has risen steadily, has deeply defrauded thousands of teachers who spend their lives in one of the most disagreeable tasks which is, at present, teaching in Spain." (9) A change of attitude, really only to be acquired by entering into the struggle for better conditions, was essential if the movement were to gain strength. This dialectical process was a constant element in the private sector, very deliberately encouraged by the vanguard. (10)

In Sevilla great use was made of the State Vertical Union at a later period than in Madrid. There had been an attempt there by some socialists to revive the historic section for teachers of the UGT, FETE, Spanish Federation of Workers in Education, which had failed, and the socialists, as in Madrid, worked in the Teachers Commissions. "Then quickly those of us in the private schools, both primary and secondary, followed the instructions of the Workers Commissions to occupy the Vertical Union. However we did not have a single delegate. From '72 until '74 which is when we had elections we obtained 3 or 4.

Then in the following elections we got enough to control the whole section of Primary. I was the President of Primary which was the most numerous...Having a legal framework like the Vertical Union where one can attend a meeting formally called, etc. then people began to get up and move and we

achieved a vital movement with which we had never had anything comparable before in private shools". (11)

This prolonged struggle to make use of the State Vertical Union made teachers very appreciative of the benefits of democratic liberties and so heightened their political consciousness. Democratic practice became a key point in all their proposals and subsequently figured largely in the Alternative. They also became very conscious, as we have said, of the need to gain professional dignity, which made teachers more aware of their role in society and widened the scope of their professional aspirations. At this early stage of the movement, many women teachers, who in any case were a majority in the profession, became very active and were genuine leaders. They were less conscious, until a later date, of the feminist issues in education, but were extremely combative and active in the struggle showing initiative and imagination.

"Colegios de Licenciados"

These associations or Colleges of graduates which existed for various professions such as architects, economists, doctors, etc. were founded in the end of the 19th century in order to protect the interests of these professionals. They were primarily directed against unqualified intruders who

invaded professional practice. According to their statutes they did not contemplate the defence of their members as employees, in a trade union sense, but rather their defence as members of a liberal profession and were much concerned with the dignity of such professions. In the Franco epoch, the Falange assumed control in nearly all of these Colleges.

In the case of the "Colegios de Licenciados", that is graduate Colleges for arts and science graduates, the only profession in which they exercised any control was in the teaching profession, which in any case was the main one of such graduates. All graduate teachers, that is secondary teachers in the private sector were obliged to be members of the "Colegio" and this institution was supposed to inspect these schools in order to guarantee the presence of qualified teachers. Documented proof of this had to be submitted by the schools to the "Colegio" which meant that they could exercise a certain control and complaints could be presented through the "Colegio". In practise, the control was very lax and schools found many ways and tricks for evading their legal responsibilities.

The "Colegios" were distributed according to University districts, wherever there was a University, the graduates of that area belonged to the corresponding "Colegio". Provinces which did not possess a University were grouped around the nearest one. There was a National Council of "Colegios" whose statutes dated from 1953 and was composed of twenty four members, twelve were designated by the Ministry of Education, including the President, while the other twelve were the elected Deans of each "Colegio". The teachers protested against this lack of democracy, which had been acknowledged in 1966 by a Falange President, Eugenio Lostau, who stated "I would be in favour of a reduction in the number of members of the National Council who are designated by the Ministry of Education and of an increase of those who are elected directly, including even the President, by all the members of the Council." (12) However nothing was done about this situation until after 1973 when the first anti Regime leadership was elected to the "Colegio" of Madrid and their Dean, Eloy Terron, became the President of the National Council, democratically elected for the first time since the Civil War.

Since the "Colegios" were obliged by their statutes to function democratically, that is hold elections for their governing committee and since all graduates working in

private schools were obliged to belong to them, they represented an obvious forum for the opposition. Naturally the democratic practice was restricted in the sixties and as soon as teachers showing themselves to be anti Regime became active, repression was the immediate response. We have seen how in Madrid, for example, elections were illegally postponed, since it was the Ministry's responsibility to call them. Also talks, lectures, round table discussions, etc. were frequently forbidden by the police, who would station themselves at the entrance of the building and demand to see the identity cards of all who entered. This type of harassment was designed to frighten graduates into believing that the "Colegio" was a dangerous centre of subversion.

The fact that only private teachers were obliged to be members meant that, at first, this platform was used in the large cities where there were a great number of teachers teaching in private schools, notably Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Sevilla. It also meant that there was a definite trade union type emphasis from the start, of the defence of a salaried sector. Indeed one of the points which the teachers wished to make was that these were "Colegios" whose members were salaried workers and not members of a liberal profession. As soon as State secondary education began to grow and the contracted teachers (PNNs) to increase in number, these teachers began to join the "Colegio". This

was made obligatory in 1971. Many of the "PNNs" had come from the private sector and so were already members. They made it a platform for their specific demands and problems. This extended the use of the "Colegios" by the teachers' movement to many other areas, Oviedo, Bilbao, Granada, Malaga, Santander, Santiago de Compostela, etc.

Whenever the opposition won the elections and controlled the "Colegios" as in the case of Madrid, Barcelona, Oviedo and Valencia, the doors were thrown wide open and non graduate teachers were made welcome, as well as pedagogic movements and parents. Pedagogic questions and matters of educational policy were introduced as themes of discussion. In Valencia in particular, where a strong pedagogic tradition survived, the "Colegio" quickly became a centre for in-service training and experimental activities in this field. In Madrid and Barcelona questions of educational policy were central to the "Colegios'" activities.

In 1976 when the opposition was in power in the "Colegio" of Madrid, the "Alternativa" or democratic alternative which had been drawn up through the collective experience of the teachers' movement, published in fragments in illegal leaflets, articles, etc., in the programmes of the clandestine political parties, in books published by well known members of the opposition, was produced in a working

document to be discussed by the members of the "Colegio" and passed in the best attended assembly the "Colegio" had ever known. This led to a discussion of this or similar documents in many other "Colegios" and can truly be said to have been a programme which mobilised and was accepted by a very large vanguard of progressive teachers all over the country. It meant that in education, the left in a broad sense, emerged with a programme in education which united them and which was supported by a large number of members of the profession. "The education alternative had great importance in the ideological positions on educational policy both in the Socialist and Communist Parties." (13)

The drawing up of this Alternative, which began in 1975, was a genuine work of synthesis, as it meant compiling all the strands of this spread out and varied struggle which had been taking place over a period of more than ten years. In it the influences and impact of the very nature of this struggle can be clearly seen as will be explained in the last chapter of this thesis.

Within the "Colegio" once the battle had been won against the Falange and in 1973 the democratic candidature won the elections, there remained another formidable foe within, the "FERE". This organization, which could marshal its disciplined ranks of graduate nuns and monks to vote in

elections, as it had shown in 1969, and attend assemblies, continued to be very active in the struggle for power within the institution. Apart from the relationship employer-employee which most teachers in the private sector had with the religious orders, there were other causes of daily friction. One was what the teachers' movement used to refer to as the "feudal" article 15 in the "Ordenanza Laboral", labour reglamentation laid down by the Ministry of Labour, which stated that any teacher could be automatically replaced, that is to say dismissed, from his teaching post if a member of the owner's family, in the first degree of relationship, held the necessary qualifications and wished to occupy that post. Since in the religious orders, all nuns and monks were considered to be "brothers and sisters in Christ", this meant that by the simple transferring of a nun or monk with the correct qualification, any teacher who proved bothersome for management, could be dismissed without any fuss or compensation money. The removal of this unjust and discriminatory clause was a constant demand in all the "Convenios" and was finally removed when a new labour reglamentation was drawn up in 1974, in which the "Colegios" and delegates of the State Vertical Union were able to participate.

The question of ideological dismissals which happened with some regularity and caused one of the Judges in the Labour

Court to lament the "bitterness" produced in teachers' dismissals from schools, was another bone of contention. The religious order employers alleged such matters as the teaching of evolution according to modern scientific data, information on Darwin, the introduction of contemporary literature which, in other countries would have been considered as eminently appropriate for young readers, etc. etc. as grounds for dismissal. Such cases in the Labour Courts brought memories of the Inquisition to life.

The subject of the system of State grants to private schools, which had always existed but which the 1970 Education Act consolidated was another point of constant confrontation with the FERE. Among teachers this was deeply resented because of the role played by the religious schools up to then, exclusively concerned with the middle and upper classes, and because of the lack of any efficient control on the part of the Ministry as to how this money was spent. There was a great deal of discussion on this subject within the Socialist and Communist parties, in an effort to overcome the inheritance of a sterile anti clerical attitude on the one hand, and to take into account the reality of schooling provision on the other, with the importance of the private sector as a significant factor. The result of these discussions produced a remarkable degree of flexibility and openness in these parties' policies and in the teachers'

movement's "Alternative".

In comparison with other professional "Colegios" and the anti franquist movements which tried, successfully in many cases, to occupy them, the "Colegio de Licenciados" functioned more like a Trade Union. "I think, with regard to other professions, our teachers' movement was stronger, more alive and much more combative than the majority of the climate that existed among lawyers, architects or doctors. I would consider as the primary and obvious reason, the fact that our professional conditions were much worse, there was a greater degree of proletarianization among teachers and in such precarious conditions that the movement in consequence was more combative. Then teaching as a form of work is much richer, more critical, more in contact with new ideas, in so far as ideas arise from the young people who are closer to the University movements. For this reason I think that it must be recognised that our movement was in more face to face confrontation and was more determined, within the minorities which existed at that time and manifested themselves. At that time the movement really had weight and it is evident that in the other professional "Colegios", the struggle was much more diluted, more corporative and had a more union and less political approach." (14)

The role played by the "Colegios de Licenciados" in the

mobilisation and consolidation of the opposition among teachers, and in the bringing into existence of an informed opinion, was of enormous importance. The fact that the "Colegios" were official, solid, eminently respectable institutions, possessed generous means and had a real place in society, meant that even excessive police harassment could not rob them of these essential characteristics. The difficult beginnings in the sixties came to fruition in the seventies, especially during the period after the Dictator's death in 1975 and before the legalization of trade unions, when they served as open platforms for the proclamation of the progressive "Alternative".

"Servicio Español de Magisterio". "SEM"

The largest section of teachers were the State Primary teachers who taught primary school pupils from 6 to 14 years old. This was the only section which could be said to be universal, although as has been explained, total schooling was nowhere near being achieved in the sixties and early seventies. However it did mean that it was the most spread out sector, reaching, in theory, every village in Spain. Also the Regime was fully conscious of the role primary teachers had played in spreading Republican and revolutionary ideas in the pre Civil War period, so, apart from severe repression and the weeding out of the

politically active members as we have shown, a strict political control was maintained.

One of the main instruments invented in order to carry out this control was the "SEM" as was explained in the last chapter. The "SEM" was an association, part of the National Movement, called a "service", thereby denying it the slight democratic scope which an association permitted, to which most State primary teachers belonged. In theory it was voluntary, but the subscription was automatically deducted at source from primary teachers' salaries and attempts to resign from the "SEM" were frequently ignored. It came under the control of the National Movement's hierarchy and was divided into five "Associations", State Primary teachers, the largest group, Private School primary teachers who, as soon as the State Vertical Union was created in 1964, found it rather more relevant, Headmasters of the State Primary Schools, Inspectors of Primary education and teachers from the Teacher Training Colleges. The two latter groups also belonged to other Associations which permitted greater representation and so were preferred as an instrument of defence. The Chief or Head of the "SEM", in collaboration with the five Chiefs at national level, drew up and directed policy in the primary sector of the country's education system. All of these posts were named directly by the National Secretary of the Movement. At provincial and local

level, there were Chiefs equally designated by the Civil Governor of each province. At local levels there were "juntas", committees formed by representatives of the teachers, half of whom were designated and half elected. Little was left to chance! They were also supposed to hold assemblies each term, which either never took place or consisted in boring lectures from the provincial or local Chief on a subject chosen by himself and with no question time. The election of teacher representatives was also frequently ignored, that is never took place, or else did so in a very restricted manner, without informing most of the teachers. Often the "representative" was named by the Falange bureaucrats.

The "SEM" possessed considerable means, a generous assignation of funds through the National Delegation of Associations to add to the teachers' "voluntary" subscriptions, free postal and telephone service, and free transport. It published a magazine "Servicio" which reached all teachers and the National Chief "represented" teachers' interests in the "Cortes". A great deal of demagogy was used in these organs making reference to the "noble body" of teachers.

However the "noble body" continued to endure miserable salaries. During 1967 and 1968, the various Chiefs of the

"SEM" began to carry out a verbal campaign, denouncing the low level of primary teachers' salaries, which had been raised from absolutely starvation level in 1965, to a level about equal to an unskilled workers' pay. An ordinary policeman earned considerably more. The salary, like all civil servant's salaries was based on a minimum salary, which was then considered to be 3,000 Pts. a month, and then multiplied by a coefficient, according to the individual's category or scale. In the case of primary teachers in 1965, this was 2.2, and the National Chief of the "SEM", Mendoza Guinea, in 1968 when the coefficient was to be raised to 2.9, stated, "The solution which has been given is unacceptable because it has not followed the recommendations of the UNESCO International Conference held in the Autumn of 1966, which was signed by the Spanish Government, in which it requested that the remuneration of teachers should be in accordance with the responsibility of their professional activity and comparatively just with regard to other professions. Within the legal channels the "SEM" will rapidly initiate steps to resolve this situation." (15)

However, after a hypocritical and demagogic debate in the "Cortes" in 1968, the teachers were given the initially proposed rise to 2.9 which, apart from being entirely inadequate, took six months to implement. It may be said that this farse finally convinced primary teachers of the uselessness of the "SEM" as an instrument of defence of

their interests.

Prior to these events in 1965, when primary teachers were given the coefficient of 2,3, various teachers sent telegrams of protest to the Ministry. This initiative started in San Sebastian and spread to Barcelona and all of Catalonia, to such an extent that the post office officials began to ask the teachers to show their identity cards, when they read the contents of the telegrams. At the same time, primary teachers began to resign from the "SEM" as a protest. An account of a state school in Barcelona, "Pere Villa", where 35 out of a total of 37 teachers resigned, was broadcast from the illegal radio station, "Radio España Independiente" Independent Spanish Radio (16), which the Spanish Communist Party maintained in Bucharest and which was listened to all over the country. The authorities tried to jam these programmes, especially in the large cities, but with patience they could be heard. In the rural areas and villages and towns there was much better reception. In the late forties a report on the state of education in Barcelona, a devastating account, was also broadcast by this radio station, whose author was an anonymous Barcelona primary teacher.(17)

Another Barcelona teacher, in 1965, signing himself with the pseudonym "Jaime Gallo" wrote and circulated an open letter

to all Spanish teachers denouncing their situation and urging them to continue to struggle. He mentioned the telegrams as being the first time primary teachers had reacted since the Franco era began, and in the name of the Papal Encyclical, "Peace on Earth" and of the "Declaration of Human Rights", he called on teachers to move, suggesting that they boycott the solemn opening of the school year in September 1965, they resign from the "SEM", make known their situation and demand the right to associate, freedom of speech and the right to strike. This open letter was also read over the REI, the Communist Party's radio station.(18)

The next year, 1966, in Barcelona, there took place what was really the first organized action of the opposition of this sector, so difficult to mobilize due to its dispersion and the rigid control it endured. A group of nearly a hundred teachers signed a letter which had been prepared by one teacher. (19) In this letter the teachers demanded the democratisation of the "SEM". The presentation of this letter to the "SEM" was reported in the press and produced an important response from teachers all over the country who wrote to the first signature expressing their solidarity. These letters reached several hundreds. The reaction of the National Chief of the "SEM", Mendoza Guinea became famous, using a popular saying, "Estos son lentejas. Si las quieres las comes y si no las dejas" which means, "These are

lentils, if you want to you can eat them, if you do not you can leave them." (20) In this way he showed his absolute contempt for the teachers he was supposed to represent and for their democratic aspirations.

This action was not followed by a surge of the organized movement among State primary teachers, as it was too early for that and there did not yet exist an organized group to guarantee its continuity, but it was an important gesture which primary teachers did not forget.

The following year in Sevilla at the time of the "SEM's" demagogic campaign, there was another attempt to utilize the "SEM" for what was supposed to be its function, the defence of teachers. "I joined the "SEM" and then I went and requested an assembly. We went round all the primary schools of the province collecting signatures to ask for the assembly. We collected 600 or 700 signatures. In every school where there was somebody of Commissions or somebody politicized, they signed asking for the assembly. This was in 1967 and when I had all the signatures I went to the "SEM", as a member of "SEM", to ask Narciso (the provincial Chief) for the assembly. It must be added that not all the teachers who had signed were members of the "SEM", and so he refused the assembly because it had not been requested by a sufficient number of members. I went immediately to the

"Correo de Andalucia", (provincial newspaper), and I told them "This is the situation. All these primary teachers have asked for an assembly in the "SEM" and been refused." We informed all the teachers in their schools about the refusal. Everybody began to get angry and that was the origin of the organization of primary teachers in Sevilla and Alcala (a nearby town)." (21)

Members of the "SEM" failed to influence the hierarchy by their pressure, as they were unable to hold meetings or assemblies, nor did the association give them any scope for democratic action. Other abortive attempts were made by the teachers' movement to make use of it as a legal platform, in the same way as the State Vertical Union. This idea was originally defended by the Communists, following the labour movement's methods, and attempting to follow up the action of 1966. However the total disillusion which most teachers felt, especially after the events of 1967 and 1968, made mention of the "SEM" repellent to most. It was not until much later, when on a clandestine level the organization had greatly progressed and when the "SEM" itself once more decided on a demagogic campaign, that use could be made of its structure which, however was immediately swamped by the teachers' own capacity for organization. "But I would like to point out why all this was possible (he is referring to subsequent important actions of primary teachers). It was

because there was an infrastructure, and that infrastructure had been created since before 1970, little by little. First there were 6 or 7 and then every year more and more people joined, those who had been in the Training College with us, and so on. All of us were in the Communist Party by that time. There was a nucleus of people, one was in a village, in private schools the same thing happened, each one was in a district and organized the teachers in his school and then they went to other schools. This is what made the movement grow and made possible the other mass action which, without the movement, would not have arisen so easily. The mass action spread like wildfire, in that week the whole province was organized. All the teachers, all the schools, all the legal representatives, everyone joined in the action." (22)

The "SEM" had proved a stumbling block and delayed the process of organizing the state primary teachers, yet inadvertently, as will be shown in the next chapter, provided the spark which set off the most important action carried out by teachers.

"Club de Amigos de la UNESCO de Madrid", Madrid Friends of UNESCO Club

This organization in Madrid, was perhaps the only really democratic institution which existed in the city during the

sixties. It had been founded by a group of democrats in 1963 and received full support from the UNESCO Head Office in Paris, much to the Regime's chagrin. Its every action was closely watched by the police and indeed, police spies were constantly infiltrated into its various work commissions. Naturally an organization devoted to the promotion of Education, Science and Culture, was an appropriate place for progressive teachers to meet and discuss the many problems affecting their professional lives. Such international documents as the "Declaration of Human Rights" and the "Convention against Discrimination in Education" were obvious tools to support such activities.

In 1967, the Education commission of the Club organized a seminar on "Illiteracy in Spain and its causes", led by a former University professor who had resigned his post in solidarity with the expulsion of professors in 1956. (23) Attempts were made to publicise its results as a means of setting up groups of students disposed to go out to the different areas of the city and set up literacy classes for adults. For this activity, cooperation from the primary schools was needed as they were the obvious venue for such classes. However the active presence of an efficient police spy in the commission, meant that headmasters to whom such an activity seemed eminently reasonable and desirable, and there were many, immediately received a visit from the

secret police to warn him of the "subversive" nature of this apparently well intentioned activity.

The Education commission also attempted to analyze the state of education in Spain and wrote a forward to the "Convention against Discrimination in Education" which, as we have already explained was confiscated and the Club fined for publishing such subversive information. This was in 1969, during the state of emergency and just before the Government's White Paper was published, containing a great deal more and obviously much more documented information of the same "subversive" nature. The Club also presented a criticism of the Education Act as we have already mentioned.

The Club's Education commission also tried to introduce the "Declaration of Human Rights" into the classroom and drew up a document (24) offering suggestions as to how this could be done, introducing active methods, environmental studies and project type work, all of which were a great innovation in the arid, memoristic, traditional scene. In view of the relative incomprehension that the document's viability met with among teachers in Madrid, an exciting project was carried out for a week during school holidays with children of Club members in order to show how it could be done.

As a method of reaching more teachers, the commission

distributed UNESCO documents in the schools and then called on them and endeavoured to hold discussions with the teachers. Not surprisingly, in view of the reigning climate, such activities had to overcome tremendous suspicion and fear, but the results were always positive and helped to spread progressive ideas. Early in 1968, an attempt to distribute such material, all perfectly legal publications of UNESCO documents, to a long queue of primary teachers waiting to be paid, this occurred every month, led to the arrest of the commission members, who were, however, let go without charge after a couple of hours.

Such police harassment was, of course, very discouraging, but nevertheless, the commission persevered in its activities for several years and became a point of reference and a meeting place for many primary teachers of progressive tendencies. Another document which was reproduced and given great diffusion was the Allende Government's proposal for educational reform in Chile, "Escuela Nacional Unificada", National Unified School, which was presented in Santiago in February 1973. It can be said that the Club played an important role in the development of a conscious, informed resistance movement to the Regime, not only in Madrid, but also in Valencia and Alicante where other such Clubs existed, and indeed all over Spain, as its documents were amply distributed and used by teachers in every province.

"Asociaciones de Catedráticos y Agregados", Associations of State Secondary teachers (25)

According to the Associations Bill introduced in 1964, all associations had to conform to that Act and depend either on the Administration, the National Movement or the Church. In spite of the fact that the apparently more directly political nature of the National Movement, synthesis of the various strands of Falange, would seem to make associations which depended on it more politically controlled, paradoxically some of these enjoyed greater freedom, within the logical limitations of the period, than those depending on the Administration.

Among State secondary teachers there had existed the "SEP", "Servicio español del profesorado", an organization similar to the "SEM" of the primary teachers, which was, however, much less active than the latter. As a result in 1965 the National Chief of the "SEP" campaigned for the creation of an Association for state secondary teachers. During that year representatives of the different provinces met with the Falange bureaucrats in the "Valle de los Caídos" (26) to discuss this question. Among the "catedráticos" there were some who been in their "chairs" since before the Civil War. Obviously they had not been active in any of the Popular Front parties, nor had defended the Republic, otherwise they

would have been purged, but some of them had a more liberal attitude than the Regime and had had experience of democratic procedure. As we explained in the last chapter, the "Agregados" or "Adjuntos" were a new body created in 1960, and the "catedráticos" especially those of the liberal type, very conscious of their dignity and status, refused to have these "newcomers" in their midst. This posture was defended with great ardour by Torrente Ballesteros, (27) for example, and won the day. Representatives both at provincial and national level were set up and these "catedráticos" influenced the drawing up of the statutes, so that they were much more democratic than the "SEM" or "SEP".

When the association of the "agregados" was created, in the first place this liberal element did not exist, there was considerable discontent among teachers at the time, 1967, because of their insufficient salaries and as we explained in the preceding chapter, among the "agregados" were significant political figures of the Falange: all of this meant that great care was taken to force the election of "SEP" bureaucrats in provinces and at national level. Thus the Association of "agregados", the lower paid of the civil servant secondary teachers, never really became active nor representative. Similarly the Association of Vocational Schools was totally dominated by the National Movement and

naturally the "PNNs", who had not the status of civil servants, were not permitted to belong to any association.

The Association of "Catdráticos", however, was given the limited freedom of election, with the result that in various provinces teachers of the resistance movement, even teachers belonging to the clandestine Communist Party, were elected as Presidents. This gave a much greater vitality and combativity to the Association's work and meant that it could use its prestige as the Association which represented the most elite type of teacher, in order to promote progressive ideas which were contrary to the Regime. Naturally the language had to be guarded, as we have already explained, and it is not clear as to how far these leaders of the "Catedráticos" really represented the attitudes and opinions of all the teachers of this sector as there were many with conservative attitudes who were really only interested in maintaining their situation of relative privilege within the difficult panorama of schools. However with their dynamic, democratic work they managed to convince the "catedráticos" to accept their proposals and opinions.

Naturally the emphasis in such an Association was on matters of a professional and economic nature, whereas the more political content, evidently underlying these matters, was frequently left unstated or expressed with exceptional

prudence in an institution which had been created in the very heart of the National Movement. Indeed in the organs of power within the Association, along side the progressive teachers were members of the Movement who used the platform to combat the Opus Dei government policies, until the democrats managed to displace them. The importance of such a forum, representing the only group of teachers who could be said to enjoy certain social esteem and consideration on the part of the Regime, expressing open criticism of the Regime, was of great importance. Far and beyond its influence on the limited numbers of its members, the fact that its statements, analyses and actions received much greater attention in the press, particularly the local press of the National Movement, than any other teachers' platforms, converted it into an important source of information and a method of spreading progressive ideas among the general public. As an instrument for the resistance movement, despite its evident limitations, its very status gave it a heightened importance.

"Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos de la Escual Normal"

Teacher Training College Old Pupils' Association

Among State Primary teachers the lack of a workable legal platform was a constant block and so much imagination was applied to overcoming this obstacle. As we have seen, in

Madrid the UNESCO Club served this purpose, although the idea of using the Training College was also tried. It was, however, especially in Barcelona, Valencia, Oviedo and Cordoba, that the idea of forming an Old Pupils' Association really took root and provided an adequate forum. Apart from the restrictions imposed by the Associations Act of 1964, these associations depended on the administration, in this case the Ministry of Education, a further problem was that the members had to be old pupils of the particular College in question and this limitation, in a sector of considerable mobility, was a serious one. However, once a sufficiently large nucleus of old pupils was found to set up the Association, teachers from other Training Colleges could become associate members.

The vital question was to have an address and a hall in order to be able to communicate with teachers and hold assemblies. These Associations represented that and, in spite of their limitations and the inevitable subsequent police persecution, did serve the purpose of permitting the leaders of the movement who were more politically aware, to come into contact with more and more teachers and build up a more ample vanguard. Obviously in such an association, deliberately created by the teachers' movement, there was no internal opposition from the Regime, the opposition they suffered from was due to their open confrontation and the

classic methods of repression were used against them.

"GOES" Grupos obreros de estudios sociales", Workers groups of social studies

"HOAC", the Catholic organization, had adopted a progressive, anti Regime attitude after much internal struggle, in the late sixties. Its relationship with the hierarchy was never easy and from their ranks came many workers who participated in Workers Commissions. As they possessed offices and, in the beginning, certain freedom to hold meetings, they made these premises available to various groups. This meant that they soon came under police surveillance and were even raided, causing some friction between the Bishops and the Regime. The "HOAC" created the "GOES" which "were conceived as a "popular classroom" constituted for the study of the problems and questions which are of interest to the working class in general, or to the members of any "GOES" in particular, with a view to helping one another mutually in the forming of criteria aimed at the promotion of workers.

"GOES" are created with the objective of encouraging the development of a popular workers culture in the double and necessary sense, that is, that it comes from the workers themselves, from their reality and experience, and that it

is designed to give valid response to their needs and the demands imposed by their human values"

These groups were not to exceed 19 members, this was a legal precaution, as 20 people could constitute an illegal meeting, if it did not count on the required permission from the authorities, and they depended on the Diocesan Executive Committee of "HOAC" which provided a legal framework. In theory there should have been a member of "HOAC" in each group, but this was not strictly adhered to. The Working Rules already quoted, stated "It is not necessary to be a member of "HOAC" to participate in a "GOES", nor to be a Catholic, consequently this participation does not confer on one the condition of membership of the "HOAC"."(28)

In 1971, when repression was very severe, the "Colegio" not yet open and the movement had grown, the problem of holding meetings was a really serious one. The "HOAC" offered the teachers' movement, the possibility of forming these study groups in different areas of the city or nearby towns, under the legal protection of their organization. These "GOES" represented a solution to the problem of meetings. The restrictions in number were of course a great drawback, but teachers organized the "GOES" to correspond to different areas of the city, "zonas", zones as they were called, which formed a characteristic of the movement, which will be

discussed in the next chapter. This led to the holding of "mixed" meetings, that is mixing state and private, primary and secondary teachers in each group. This had positive results as it led to a more overall view of problems and helped to eliminate corporativist divisions and internal contradictions. Because of the restrictions imposed by clandestinity, even, for example, in the Communist Party organization at that time, the groups were arranged according to their professional sector and only in the sectorial committee was the synthesis realized. The holding of inter sectorial meetings and discussions, also helped teachers to understand the complexities of their demand for unity, which so dominated the movement and its Alternative of the "Cuerpo Unico" or single Body of Teachers. This and the "zonal" organization were brought out as positive consequence resulting from this practice in the subsequent important teachers actions, which were organized through the zones and tended to unify all types of teachers around common platforms and as near as possible simultaneous action.

The "GOES" were also able to produce simple, ciclostyled bulletins which could be considered as legal and distributed among teachers. They provided a very useful legal platform to which teachers could be invited and so come into contact with the movement. There was also an attempt to coordinate

the separate "GOES" and set up some sort of leading committee, with a bulletin which could draw from the experience of each "GOES". However, before this was really consolidated, the elections were won in the "Colegio de Licenciados", which quickly became the most widely used platform. Nevertheless at a period when repression had increased for teachers and so all meetings were made more difficult, the "Goes" provided a most useful refuge for a few years. Also it helped to develop what was to become a permanent characteristic of the teachers movement, the idea of zones and the possibility of an interrelationship between the schools of different areas of the city, mixing up the different types of schools and teachers, which led to a wider appreciation and understanding of the complexities of the system.

Other initiatives

In Vizcaya in the Basque country, the teachers' movement were able to join and collaborate in the "Asociación de Maestros Católicos", the Association of Catholic Primary Teachers, which did not adopt a sectarian attitude and was prepared to defend the progressive ideas expressed by these teachers. This Association was very active and proved to be a most useful platform for teachers and had easy access to the press. The Church in the Basque country, was perhaps the

first to change its attitude to the Regime, and indeed there had always been anti Franco Basque priests, both during and after the Civil War.

In Sevilla a cultural association was also used as the legal platform for the teachers' commissions.

In Madrid, about 1967, an attempt was made to create an Association of Primary Teachers as a means of organizing this group of teachers. Statutes were drawn up and signatures collected supporting it, but finally it was never created. The preparatory steps towards it, did serve as a method for uniting a group of primary teachers. This initiative was followed in other parts of the country. Another possibility which also mobilized State primary teachers was the proposal to create a "Colegio de Maestros", a similar institution as the graduates had, the "Colegio de Licenciados". Its statutes were also drawn up and the Teachers' Movement spread the idea. It was very popular with primary teachers. As soon as democratic teachers began to occupy the "Colegios de Licenciados", it was seen to be more in consonance with the principle of the "Cuerpo Unico", single Body of Teachers, to open up these institutions to primary teachers. Since the Education Act of 1970 advanced the status of the Teacher Training College studies to be the equivalent, at least in theory, of three years in the University with a diploma at

the end, the proposal was to include these "diplomados", changing the Statutes and names of these institutions to "Colegios de Licenciados y Diplomados", College of graduates and diploma holders.

How these legal platforms affected the resistance movement.

Without a legal platform it was extraordinarily difficult to start any reasonably widespread activity, so the obtaining of one was a real obsession which occupied much time and thought. Once it was established and functioning, great care had to be taken to protect the precious instrument as, if opposition to the Regime became too open, the association could be closed by the police. On the other hand, if teachers' real problems were not introduced no advance could be made, so the activists in these places had to tread very warily. This caused the development of a strange and frequently euphemistic vocabulary, but it also created a great determination to act as openly as possible and behave like natural leaders of a natural movement. The legality which did not exist had to be created by practice, otherwise it was impossible for teachers, with all their limitations of origin and working conditions, to overcome the reality of a police state and demand normal professional rights. The civil servant status of state teachers gave a certain security, in spite of terrible controls, once a movement of

any appreciable size got going. It was difficult to dismiss a civil servant. Also contact with parents and the support received from them, which will be gone into in the last chapter, especially in moments of repression, played a great part in increasing teachers' confidence.

"Nevertheless, the most important political element of the teachers' movement was, in my opinion, implicit from long before (the Education Act) in the very existence of the movement itself, as in the case of the workers' movement; and it consisted in the fact that the practice of holding assemblies, strikes, sit ins and every kind of confrontation with institutions and political ideas which excluded, by definition, collective discrepancy, signified an open defiance of the Regime" (29)

Conclusion

In this chapter the extraordinary handicaps which the teachers' movement had to overcome, in order to be able to coordinate and accumulate sufficient strength and numbers to make action possible, have been shown. The immense variety of the solutions and ingenuity shown in this process indicate the vitality and power of the movement. The fact that they ranged from the most restrictive instruments of the Regime itself, to ad hoc associations specifically

created, with all the administrative stumbling blocks that involved, as legal cover for the movements' activities is also made clear.

It has been demonstrated that when the movement penetrated the institutions of the Regime, such as the Vertical State Union or the Association of "Catedráticos", or older institutions which were nevertheless controlled by the Regime such as the "Colegios de Licenciados", they entered into open confrontation with the Regime within these associations and any advance was territory won for the opposition. On the other hand in organizations specifically created, such as the "Teacher Training Colleges' Old Pupils Associations", the "GOES" and the "Club de Amigos de la UNESCO", created to promote and defend democracy, as the confrontation was not internal greater advances could be made in theoretical elaboration and the ideological formation of its members, while at the same time the practice of inevitable confrontation with the Regime also provided new scope for the movement and signified an opening up of new territory for democratic freedom.

It has been demonstrated that the teachers came into conflict with the Falange, because of its hold on various institutions, and with the more reactionary elements of the Church as represented by the "FERE".

Notes.

1. Julian Usano
2. "Nuevo Diario" 27th March 1968.
3. Jose Manuel Torre Arca
4. Sindicato Nacional de Enseñanza, La
Sindicación de los profesionales de la
Enseñanza en España, Madrid, Sind. Nac.,
1966.
5. This form of agreement, "Covenio Colectivo"
was created in 1958 by the Collective
Bargaining Act. If agreement was not
reached the Ministry of Labour had the right
to impose a solution. Employers, by this
time needed an instrument for increasing
productivity.
6. In recognition of workers' economic
contribution to the State Vertical Union,
when democracy came their buildings
were restored to the democratic Trade

Unions according to two criteria,
historic rights or the accumulative
contribution by the members of these
unions in the past. So part of this
immense building was restored to
Workers Commissions and the Madrid
Union of Teachers of CC.OO, now
occupies part of the 3rd floor which
was originally the National Union of
Teachers of the Vertical State Union.

7. The letter is reproduced in, Enseñanza en España, Paris, Col. Ebro, 1970. Page 166.
8. The letter from Fernando Martinez Pereda, was published in "Nuevo Diario" 25th June 1969.
9. This letter from Juan Llorens was published in "Diario S.P." a daily newspaper, on the 20th July 1969.
10. Se appendix A: "What every teacher should know."
11. Aurelio Alvea, a private primary teacher of Sevilla. Member of PCI and later PCE. He

became President of the workers section in
the State Vertical Union.

12. "Madrid" evening paper. 26th November 1960.
13. Mariano Perez Galán.
14. Ibid.
15. La Enseñanza en España, Paris, Col. Ebro,
1970, Page 160.
16. Author's archives.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. La Enseñanza en España, Page 54. See
Appendix A. "Letter to SEM".
20. Ibid. Page 160.
21. Carlos Abadia, a state primary teacher of
Sevilla.

22. Ibid.
23. Eloy Terron.
24. Author`s archives.
25. Originally the second type of secondary teachers were called "adjuntos" and later changed to "agregados".
26. See Chap. 4 Note 21.
27. Torrente Ballesteros, a well known contemporary novelist.
28. "Proyecto de Bases Normativas de los GOES". Author`s archives.
29. Jose Manuel Torre Arca

Part Two. The opposition in Education

Chapter 7. Teachers find a means of action

Introduction:

In this chapter it is intended to show how the Teachers' Movement created a loose form of organization which permitted them to advance their struggle. They needed a space in which to be able to analyse the work carried out in the various legal platforms described in the last chapter, raise them to a higher theoretical level and promote more advanced actions. Also none of these platforms, either those which already existed, or those which the Teachers' Movement created, encompassed all types of teachers. The obvious model was the Workers' Commissions and their origins will also be studied. The initial activities and problems of Teachers Commissions will be shown and their original characteristics demonstrated.

The remarkable political unity which was achieved in these Commissions will be analysed and it will be demonstrated that as a result of it, the "Alternative" which eventually emerged was common to the political parties of the left and to a great mass of democratic teachers. Without this

previous background, such unity could not have been established.

It will be shown that the discussion of the White Paper, the Education Bill and its final enactment served as an impulse to teachers to become more concerned about their situation and to organize. It was a definite stimulus for the Teachers' Movement, consolidating Commissions where they already existed and promoting their creation where they did not. It also introduced new problems, such as the State funding of private schools and a certain rivalry between primary and secondary teachers. It is shown that the first of these, a problem of great complexity and the contemporary expression of the Church's eternal battle to maintain its control of education, was understood by the Teachers' Movement and the second danger avoided within the solidarity of action.

The first timid strike actions of the teachers' movement will be examined and their precursory nature explained, as it is maintained that the subsequent important nation wide strikes in education would not have been so easy to achieve had there not previously existed an organization such as Teachers' Commissions and early attempts at action.

The more important actions and their causes will be studied

and it will be seen that aspects of the original movement are to be found in them. The great impact this sector had on society is demonstrated and the continual contradiction between the different elements of the Regime in the field of education is shown to persist.

Finally the teachers' movement's connections with other professional sectors is examined and their participation in more general political actions, which shows how the movement was developing greater political maturity. Its insertion in the general social picture is evident and of course starts with teachers' relationship with parents, whose incipient movement will be studied in the next chapter.

"Comisiones de Enseñanza", Teachers' Commissions

The necessity to create some form of loose organization which could encompass as many people as possible, create broad anti Franco alliances and help to give cohesion to the disperse movement among teachers, led to "Comisiones de Enseñanza", Teachers' Commissions. The obvious model was "Comisiones Obreras", the Workers Commissions.

It has already been explained that the Workers Commissions emerged in a natural manner in the late fifties. By this time the workers' movement was acquiring a new impetus as

the industrial expansion commenced. "In the face of the ineffectiveness of the clandestine groups and the verticalists' submission to their exploiters, the workers in the mines, the factories, on the building sites or in the fields, whenever they had a claim to make, be it a salary rise, work conditions, work clothing, transport, etc. elected or named a Commission after an assembly or consulting process." (1) This was a natural form of minimum organization in order to initiate a labour action under the terrible conditions of that epoch. The Commission lasted as long as the problem and the actions for solving it did.

"Data exists about a Commission in the Asturian mine, "La Camocha", which was created in 1957, to defend a consignment of coal for the workers and which disappeared in the same year; it was made up of Communist and Socialist workers, the local priest and the mayor of the working class town of La Camocha, who was a Falangist." (2). This was the first Commission to have been recorded and so merits the honour of having been the origin of the Workers' Commissions.

Of course this was a gradual process and did not achieve any stability for some years. "In this process we can distinguish two stages: the spontaneous one, in which the Workers' Commission was born and died with each concrete problem; and the conscious one, in which they became

permanent and when, through a constant self creation, they continued to coordinate and stimulate the struggle and the minimum social-political and organizational basis necessary for fulfilling their role in the present and in the future."

(3)

The State Vertical Union was an enemy and obstacle for the workers movement, both because of its structure and because it was controlled from top to bottom by the Regime. "The Vertical Union was, in fact, an attempt to organize workers' lack of liberty, to place them in a hierarchical structure with the object of denying them autonomy as a class and making them, by force, carry out the interests of those who exploited them." (4). This had to be denounced and combatted, at the same time as the structure was used as a platform, especially through the Union elections of 1964, 1967 and 1971.

In 1958 the new Negotiated Salary Agreement Act gave rise to greater possibilities of discussion and mobilization, especially in large factories, which, combined with the work of the legal representatives in the Vertical State Union, made it possible for more and more commissions to be created, in spite of the restrictions on meetings and assemblies and the severe repression. In Madrid, the Union representatives of the metal workers used the Union premises

for meetings and in an open assembly of about 500 of them, with the Vertical bureaucrats looking on, elected the first Commission in 1964. These represented all the bigger firms and were supported by about 8000 workers who waited for them in the street. This was the result of years of work in factory Commissions and was one of the most open examples of how the workers occupied the space, which the Vertical Union tried to deny them. After some time the Union forbade any workers' meetings in their premises which were protected by the police.

"Comisiones Obreras" arose out of the natural practice of the workers' movement and its leaders, among them members of the Communist Party, who were the main force behind its spreading and strengthening, recognised that such a loose structure, beginning at shop floor level and gradually creating, at first local, then provincial and finally national coordination, was the most suited to the specific circumstances of the sixties in Spain.

A more structured Union organization would have had to be totally clandestine, as the political parties were, and so would encounter much greater difficulty in reaching an ample sector of workers. This was demonstrated by the Socialist Union, UGT, which operated in Asturias and Bilbao especially, but with such a clandestine, structured

organization that it remained very isolated from the masses.

The looser, more open form of organization of Commissions, which welcomed workers from different parties, ideologies, beliefs and affiliations, did, in fact, include UGT for a time in Asturias. The idea of unity was very important to the workers, faced with such terrible repression which made the Regime seem all powerful. The very openness of the working methods, assemblies in the factories, use of the State Vertical Union's premises until they were forbidden, then the eternal search for alternative premises, frequently Churches or Church Halls, or "left" Falange" premises, made it easier for workers to get to know of its activities in the first place, and then to participate with a greater naturalness and feeling of solidarity, which, of course, in no way lessened the great courage and determination required to face up to the whole apparatus of the Regime.

"To be precise, in Madrid these Commissions died and were born with each claim, until after multiple actions, the most active militant workers, who were being formed through these actions, understood that not only was it possible but also that it was necessary to give permanent life to these new forms which, in the present circumstances, the workers movement is adopting in opposition to the official structure." (5)

This new form emerged and developed, as we have said in the sixties, but it had been preceded by the struggles in the forties and early fifties in the first and most brutal phase of the Dictatorship. "It is impossible to understand the why and the wherefore of Workers Commissions unless we see them as the culmination of a historical process. We can never insist enough on the fact that all struggle is a process, and that without the heroism of the old militant workers and the new generations of these, who risked their lives and long years of prison, we could never have reached the new workers' movement. The working class has forged its path in extremely hard conditions and it is precisely in the virtues and defects of this glorious past that the ferment of the new workers' movement, Workers Commissions, has been formed." (6)

Commissions started out from the specific, concrete problems of a particular factory, which would be dealt with by the Commission of that factory, while at the same time, the whole larger question of freedom and democracy could be introduced, discussed and extended among workers, initially committed on a more immediate and personal level to the struggle in their particular factory, mine or workshop. These Commissions could operate quite openly. Much greater care had to be taken of the coordinating organizations at

provincial and national level, which soon came under fire from the police.

By the late sixties, whenever the national coordinator or, indeed, the inter-trade organization of Madrid or Barcelona for example, were known to be going to meet, the police control was tremendous during the weekends, which was when such meetings had to take place. In 1972, ten leaders, members of the General Commission of Coordination of Workers Commissions (national level), were arrested. A year later their trial, the famous 1001, (so called because that was its number, namely that by July, which was when they were arrested and charged, a thousand charges had already been made that year before the "TOP", "Tribunal de Orden Pública" (7)) or Carabanchel Ten, as they were known by in the British press, named after the prison, Carabanchel, where they were awaiting trial, represented an indictment of the Regime and produced great expressions of solidarity for the Spanish workers' struggle from all over the world.

Members of the Teachers' Movement, and Communists in particular, looked to the Workers' Commissions as a model and an aspiration. On the one hand they needed some form of organization and they wished to advance their struggle so as to approach the workers' and also they needed to help teachers to acquire a greater consciousness of being a

salaried worker and of performing a professional service which should coincide with the workers' and popular interests. "The acceptance or not of the denomination "worker in education" has served for a long time to define the ideological position of a teacher and his or her vision of themselves as a social group." (8)

The idea of Teachers' Commissions began in Madrid in 1968 and then spread to Andalucia, Cataluña, Valencia, etc. It was easier to envisage this type of organization, at first, from the private sector. The existence of the State Vertical Union, representatives and the "Convenio Colectivo" were aspects shared with the workers' movement. Obviously the dispersion and reduced numbers of teachers in schools made the forming of a Commission difficult, but the two or three teachers in each school could consider themselves a mini commission and then coordinate through a meeting of representatives, which was held every Sunday morning. This was another problem, private teachers worked long hours, frequently were obliged to take on private classes in order to supplement their exiguous salaries and their timetables did not coincide, some even had night classes, hence the necessity for Sunday. Attendance at such meetings was not structured. You did not have to be a representative, in the strict sense of the word. Indeed, inviting a teacher to attend a meeting, was a method of introducing him or her to

the ideas and proposals of Teachers' Commissions.

The level of discussion at the meeting depended on who attended. All actions and proposals of action in the various legal platforms where teachers were involved, were carefully analysed. The question of whether a certain action was pushing too far and putting the precious instrument in jeopardy, would be a matter for close discussion. It was necessary to be able to discuss these matters and make future plans, on another level, which might not be possible in the platform itself. Also, of course, the problem of creating new forms, new platforms occupied a lot of the time. The analysis of their situation as teachers, and the formulation of their claims was obviously what formed the main discussions and at the same time the wider political implications of the situation could be introduced. In this way teachers became conscious that they were entering into open confrontation with the Regime.

These meetings were held in flats. Any teacher possessing a large room would be asked to lend it. Militants' homes, if they were already known to the police were not considered safe. After a time, the "safe" houses became fewer and the increased numbers made private houses unsuitable. Finally, a Church in a convent, with several rooms off it, was found and the keys entrusted to one of the leaders. This Church was in

the old part, in one of the oldest streets of the city. It served as the home of Teachers' Commissions for several years.

Proper behaviour for a clandestine organization was explained and discussed and even how to behave before the police, in the event of being arrested, was sometimes mentioned, but not emphasised, so as not to discourage members. In the political parties it was most thoroughly gone into. The Communist Party even had a little booklet on the subject, which the secret police would quote from, in exasperation, when an interrogation was not going as they wished. Whenever there were arrests in the Teachers' Movement, money was collected for bail and for sending packages to prison. This was very positive both from a practical and from an ideological point of view, as a manner of increasing solidarity. Regular subscriptions were never collected in Commissions as this would, in the case of arrests, increase the responsibility as being a proof of "Illicite Association". A member of an illicite association could be sentenced to, from six months up to six years and a leader from twelve years up to twenty.

Although for most teachers it was quite clear that they belonged to the Teachers' Commissions, everyone was slow to use the title or to sign illegal pamphlets with it, for fear

of stretching the capacity of the movement and becoming isolated. Also coordination with the structure of Workers' Commissions, from the start welcomed by the Workers' Commissions leadership, was again a step to be meditated and not forced upon an incipient movement. In Sevilla "we reached after a period of discussion of about a year, fundamentally studying the education system, we could not yet speak of our claims, the founding of Teachers' Commissions. Immediately we established connection with Workers' Commissions. We did not join them until two or three years had passed, but we had a regular contact with them which was quite open." (9)

The private teachers started Commissions in Madrid and then as soon as the "PNNs" of the Secondary Schools began to mobilize, they too attended the meetings. After a time, since sometimes their problems were different they met separately. The State primary teachers, as we have said, were more difficult to organize and took longer to form Commissions. They always met apart from the other teachers in a specific meeting, although at times everybody met together.

This form of organization worked and suited teachers' needs. "From all this process I draw two conclusions, anecdotes apart; first that, without there being anybody interested in

Workers Commissions or the organizational form of Workers Commissions, almost spontaneously, although not so spontaneously because Aurelio (10) was there, but certainly in a manner that was totally accepted by the collective group (of teachers), the organizing form of Commissions was accepted much more easily than any other. And secondly, in the beginning no political level existed, there was nobody from the Communist Party, yet Commissions ended up being led, to a large extent, by Communists. What I wish to say by this, is that both Workers Commissions and the Communist Party were forces that could really attract (people). It was not simply a matter of persuasion or indoctrination, rather in a very natural way they adapted better to the situation of the moment. It was a phenomenon which I think it is important to point out. What happened in the Teachers' Commissions, also happened in all fronts where there were some people of UGT, at first they joined Commissions." (11)

One of the most interesting aspects of Teachers' Commissions was its plurality. In this movement Communists, Socialists, some ultra left organizations, Catholics and progressive, democratic teachers all participated. In Madrid the participation of the Socialists was particularly important, both because they were convinced of the correctness of the proposal of a single, unified Union for teachers, which would admit and respect various political affiliations, and

because of the personalities of the socialist teachers themselves, who subsequently became important figures in the national scene when democratic freedom arrived. The most numerous and active group were the Communists.

The agreement between Socialists and Communists on nearly every point meant that the "Alternative" which was developed step by step, was common to both parties' programmes and that not until the last minute, the late seventies, was the Socialist Teachers' Union, "FETE of UGT", revived. This Union had enjoyed great prestige in the past, before and during the Republic and during the Civil War, when they formed a battalion of teachers. Both Communists and Socialists belonged to "FETE" and it had helped elevate the political consciousness of teachers, especially State Primary teachers, who had been such supporters of the Republic and of the Popular Front in 1936, in every village, town and city of Spain. Nevertheless these Socialists saw clearly that the proposal of a loose organization such as Commissions, and a future, unified, pluralist Teachers' Union was better suited to the conditions of modern Spain and especially responded to the desire for unity which the movement, product of such a fragmented structure, expressed. "In this sense I think (the "Alternative") was the work of everybody and besides there is a very important fact that should be underlined and that is, the way in which

Communists and Socialists worked together in Madrid. I think it was an example for all of us and an experience which I do not think can be separated from our way of conceiving political struggle, which was subsequently not understood by one or the other, that is to say, by people who had not lived through that experience. But evidently it marked us. I think that the loyalty with which we worked, the sympathy that was produced in our objectives, were key moments in the epoch of the Dictatorship and up until 1977. It was a very pleasing and hopeful sensation." (12)

The slogans of "Cuerpo Unico", a Single Teachers' Body without divisions, as regards salary and working conditions, between primary and secondary teachers, "Ciclo Unico", a unified system of education, without two separate types of schooling in the secondary stage, and "Sindicato Unico", a Single Teachers' Union, were the very signs of identity of the Teachers' Commissions arising out of the aspirations for unity so frequently expressed and supported by teachers in general. These aspirations were the basis of the Alternative which was developed day by day, through the struggles and experience of teachers in action. In the next chapter the Alternative will be analysed but, this thesis maintains, that without this minimum theoretical basis and organizational, pluralist experience, the teachers' movement could not have reached such important actions in so short a

time and so consolidated a clear anti Franco block.

Documents and means of diffusion.

The question of written propaganda was a fundamental one in such a disperse sector as teachers and was obviously closely linked to the conquest of legal platforms. They possessed Bulletins, Magazines, Journals and simple information sheets which could be used with discretion. Also there were other sections of the media to which progressive ideas had access, such as "Cuadernos para el Dialogo" already mentioned.

However all these methods were precarious and subject to censorship and the perpetual necessity of self censorship so as not to endanger the publication in question. We have also explained how factual, newspaper accounts of teachers' actions were always delivered to the newspapers and normally published. The only other alternative was the illegal pamphlet, document or even bulletin.

"Few politicians have been faced with such a cataract of publications in clandestinity as Franco. Without fear of falling into an important error, the number of periodical publications, representing the most varied ideological ideas, which combatted Franco and the politics he represented, with the printed word can be calculated as over a thousand." (13) The infrastructure which this demanded was

considerable and in the case of the clandestine Parties, the Communist Party for example, extremely elaborate and carried out under strict rules of secrecy. Even so, sections of the propaganda machinery were frequently discovered by the police. The distribution of large volumes of propaganda was as dangerous as its actual production. "Mundo Obrero" the Communist Party newspaper, had appeared fortnightly ever since 1945. It was written up in France. "From the 1960s onwe were able to begin to send the plates and electronic stencils for their reproduction in the most various forms. I think we were one of the few (groups) who could do it, have means of reproduction at our disposal, and not one or two, but many, since one or two were sure to fall into the hands of the police. A propaganda apparatus usually lasted about six months. The police, with the experience of so many years, had reached great perfection in these actions. We have reached having up to thirty points of reproduction in Sevilla, Valencia, Oviedo, various in Catalonia and so on."

(14)

The first illegal documents produced by the Teachers' Movement took advantage of access to official centres which were supplied with duplicators, even including, in the case of Madrid, the Ministry of Education itself. Then, when this practice became impossible, Parish Church equipment was used. A small propaganda apparatus was finally set up by the

Communist teachers, purely the responsibility of the sector and totally separated from any central propaganda system of the Communist Party. This equipment was at the service of the democratic movement and produced documents signed with the movements' slogans at first and finally as "Comisiones de Enseñanza". Rarely did the communist teachers produce a document which was specifically limited to expressing the Communist Party's viewpoint, as all their energies were devoted to developing this broad movement.

Teachers' Commissions even produced a bulletin of irregular periodicity, called "Enseñanza Democrática". This permitted a more complete view of the movement than the simple pamphlet and allowed for a greater elaboration of their proposals. The first attempts at summarising the ideas that were to develop into what was to become the "Alternative" were contained in one number of "Enseñanza Democrática"(15). About eight or nine numbers were published, one of which never got to be distributed, as an untimely police raid obliged the suitcase containing the full edition to be jettisoned.

These documents would be discussed and decided on in open meetings of Teachers' Commissions and a small group would be elected to write up the content already agreed on. Such problems as to how the document was to be reproduced and

distributed were never discussed as such clandestine matters were left to those who were prepared to carry them out and no questions were asked. Of course, illegal propaganda also signified heavy charges of from six months to six years.

Another method of difusion were the broadcasts from the "REI", "Radio España Independiente, Independent Spanish Radio, or the "Piranaica" as it was popularly known as, since the sound had to come over the Pyreneese Mountains. As we have said this was listened to all over the country, with greater ease in the provinces. They reported on all actions that took place in Spain and read out any documents that were sent to them. "They wrote to us from more than forty Spanish provinces and from various European countries, fundamentally those in which there was a large contingent of Spanish emigrants. This correspondence reached its height in the first five years of the decade of the sixties....Besides these spontaneous correspondents and, in some cases, from companions especially appointed by their Party organization to cooperate with the "REI" through regular letters, we received the valuable support of chronicles and reports sent to us by professionals....In all, during the different periods of the Radio Station in Bucharest, more than a hundred journalists, novelists, economists, historians and diverse specialists cooperated with us." (16)

Impact of the White Paper, Education Bill and its enactment,
on the Teachers' Movement

It is undeniable that the publication of the White Paper which represented a criticism of the whole education system and the subsequent presentation of the Bill which proposed solutions, and finally the consequences of the 1970 Act, served as a great stimulus to the Teachers' Opposition Movement. It obliged teachers to undertake a more thorough examination of the whole of the education system and not merely concentrate on their own particular area. Also it encouraged a more political standpoint as this Act deeply affected all teachers. When the solutions were seen to be false, it provoked much more widespread reactions from teachers than had been experienced before. "From 1969 on, with the publication by the Ministry of Education of the famous White Paper which served as a basis and a preparation for the 1970 Education Act, I think that the teachers' movement had at its disposal, a platform from which to present its own alternatives of educational policy, which meant that the labour and professional struggle became linked to a much more head on and political battle against the Regime." (17)

The fact that already the Teachers' Movement had had a great deal to say about the Government's proposals enhanced its

prestige and attracted more teachers to participate in the discussions and subsequent actions. "One thing is clear, when the White Paper appeared, for the first time the Regime made a self criticism of its policies, and for the first time there appeared a document in which, what the progressive sector of the education system had been saying was recognized. And this came from the Public Administration. So that what we had been criticisizing for four or five years was ratified and it was seen that we had not been talking nonsense, but rather that we were in consonance with the ideas which circulated in the world about educational theory. The fact that the people who made the criticism were from abroad, like Blat Jimenez and Diaz Horlechner, who had been in the UNESCO, in some way gave it a certain air of democratic modernity." (18)

In places where the Movement was not so far advanced the discussion over the White Paper and the Education Act served as an impulse to force teachers to meet and organize. In Sevilla "we began then to meet systematically every Saturday in a clandestine flat, teachers who were more or less concerned and who did not belong to any party, others who were in parties, mainly the Communist Party and the International Communist Party. After the fifth or sixth meeting some of these teachers entered the Communist Party. In this way for a whole year we met every Saturday morning.

Teachers came from the nearby villages, teachers who were concerned, politicised. There were graduates as well. Then we organized our discussions ... which were on the Education Act of Villar Palasi mainly. Teachers' claims were secondary in these meetings. We discussed the whole education system and the necessity to organize teachers so as to be able to deal with all these pedagogic questions and also the professional and labour matters. We needed organization. We did this for nearly a year every Saturday morning and we began attracting people. Then the first embryo which we called Commissions of Primary Teachers, was joined by secondary teachers. This process ended up with two Assemblies in "La Cuadra" (19) in Santo Domingo Street. With two assemblies we formally constituted Teachers' Commissions of Sevilla." (20).

The first actions of the Teachers' Movement

As we have decribed, the initial difficulty of such a movement was to find ways and means of holding meetings, either with a legal cover, however flimsy, or in a strictly underground manner. As soon as groups could achieve a minimum organization and hold regular meetings, once they had discussed and analysed their situation, the next step was to take some form of action. Initially documents with collective signatures and visits to the different

authorities in order to present them, were the methods used. Once such actions were achieving significant support from teachers, who began to overcome their fear and would sign without hesitation in ever increasing numbers, it was usually decided to pass on to stronger action, that is to strike.

There were three first attempts which took place in Madrid and could be described as rehearsals for the actions that were to follow. It is possible to criticise them as having been excessively vanguard, but they did break the ice and show that such actions were possible in the different teachers' sectors. In reality these rehearsals indicated the way and served as points of reference when the time came for more extended action.

The first of these took place in 1969, in the private sector, and was used as an attempt to force the employers to negotiate the "Convenio Colectivo". It was widely discussed in the nucleus of Teachers' Commissions and about 18 schools declared their intention of participating in the action. However, in the moment of truth, only 9 schools really took part. It received considerable publicity for the time, and was most effective in forcing the renewal of negotiations. The "Convenio" was signed with a 20% rise, which however the Teachers' Commissions' representatives

refused to sign as even this apparently spectacular rise was not sufficient due to the miserable levels of salary, as we have explained in the preceding chapter.

In the first term of the school year 1970 - 1971, the "PNNs" of Secondary Schools had added to their precarious and unjust labour situation, a new source of indignation, they did not receive their salaries on time. By December they had not been paid anything for the first term. Their indignation and distress grew to boiling point and in Madrid, they took their first step towards serious action, since their innumerable petitions and interviews with the appropriate authorities had yielded no results. On the 10th September, in eight Secondary Schools of Madrid, the "PNNs" refused to enter the classrooms and stayed in the staff room holding a meeting of protest. This action was followed in Barcelona where 17 schools took part, Valencia where a total of 324 teachers, including some "Catedráticos" who joined them out of solidarity, from 13 schools took part. In Oviedo they did not strike, but they held an assembly of 400 "PNNs" who protested about their situation.

The other pre-action was in the State primary sector, the most difficult to organize and get to move. In the same manner as in the private sector, the State primary teachers in Madrid had begun to meet and the limited vanguard

considered themselves as part of Teachers' Commissions. They decided to go on strike in 1972, in order to force the Government to keep their promises and raise their coefficient from 2.9 to 3.6, as well as for a series of other claims. On the eve of the strike, a large group of the organizers, members of the Communist Party, were arrested coming out of a meeting, but in spite of this, the strike took place and over twenty five schools took part. Again the importance of this action was the demonstration that State primary teachers could go on strike.

The larger actions which followed had the interesting effect of spreading from one sector to another and of, while not always coinciding on exactly the same days, having the effect of almost a general strike in education, although of a limited nature. The constant agitation and struggle in the University, on the part of students, gradually being echoed by groups of progressive "PNs" of the University, also helped to mobilize the sector.

On the 23rd March 1971, a four day strike was begun in the private sector of Madrid, once more to force the employers to negotiate the "Convenio". This time 30 schools took part and it was discussed and supported in spirit, by about a hundred schools. In Barcelona and Sevilla the strike also took part in a small way in the private sector. At the same

time, the "PNNS" of the State Secondary Schools also initiated a strike for job security and other claims. In Madrid 11 State Secondary Schools participated, a 100% of these schools in the provinces of Badajoz, Jaen, Murcia and Oviedo; 50% of the State Secondary schools in Alicante, Barcelona, Ciudad Real, Granada, Las Palmas, Santander, Sevilla, Tenerife and Valencia; and two schools in Euskadi. "Enseñanza Democrática" No. 2, April 1971 (21), the clandestine publication of Madrid Teachers' Commissions, analysed the actions as follows: "We are in an important moment for the teachers' movement. The 23rd March marks the beginning of a new stage in our struggle. The strike action, which has been the fruit of day by day work for a considerable time, has been the most extended to take place in our sector. Analysing it, we see as outstanding aspects: the great number of schools, both State and Private, which participated; the coordination and extension through almost all Spain; the union of primary and secondary teachers in the private sector; the combativity shown in the face of threats from the Ministry and the employers. The mobilization was based on the concrete claims of each sector (work security, "Covenio", etc.) but the action itself has shown us how all teachers converge towards common perspectives, which also affect both parents and pupils very directly; for the quality of teaching is very much related to our claims. This shows us that we should move towards

unified actions, directing our struggle from now on in a global way against the chaotic situation of education and the perspectives of the pseudo-reform which the Act introduces, in order to propose our alternative."

On the occasion of this strike, repression was important. The Social Political Secret Police entered the State Secondary Schools and in provinces the Civil Guards did the same. Some private schools' owners also called for the police. In the same "Enseñanza Democrática" this repression is denounced, but interestingly enough they point out that this is not the only repression which exists in schools. While admitting that none of the teachers have enjoyed political freedom and that punishments are often supported by parents, nevertheless they exhort teachers to take a firm stand against punishments, especially physical ones. "Our fight against repression must start from here, from our own work places."

As a result of this action in Private Schools in Madrid, a well known teacher, (22) Union representative in his school, a 6th Form College, member of the Vertical Structure at national level, and a communist of the Teachers' Commissions, was arrested, literally while he was teaching, on the 10th May, the police having entered his classroom. A letter of protest demanding his immediate release was handed

into the Minister of Education, signed by 275 pupils and teachers of the school. As the owners were extremely reactionary, they forced the teachers who had not signed this letter to write to the press stating that they had not signed. 43 teachers did this. (23)

In 1973, the first extended strike of State Primary Teachers took place. As a result of the reforms introduced by the 1970 Education Act, the old Primary School, "Enseñanza Primaria" was converted into EGB, "Educación General Basica", General Basic Education. This meant that all pupils from 6 to 14 years would be taught by the primary teachers. This, obviously created a potential rivalry and division between primary and secondary teachers. In order to carry this out the initial preparation of future primary teachers was changed and the academic requirements for entrance raised to the completion of "COU", 6th Form. The practising primary teachers were given courses which were supposed to equip them for the new cycle and convert them into members of the new body of "EGB" Teachers.

This new body would receive a salary increase raising their coefficient 2.9 up to the long demanded 3.6. This rise was to be applied gradually, 90% in 1971, 92.5% in 1972, 95% in 1973, 97.5% in 1974 and finally a 100% in 1975. This calendar was not fulfilled nor was the new Body created

until November 1972 and even then, these teachers continued to receive the old salary coefficient of 2.9. Teachers' discontent increased, meetings were held and documents presented all over the country. A clandestine document of the teachers' movement in Cataluña, entitled "State Primary Teachers' Strike, seen from Barcelona" quotes various newspaper cuttings (24):

"Granada: About 2,500 "EGB" teachers express their rejection of unjust treatment, request the establishment of a College of Primary Teachers which should have the same aims as those assigned to the union associations....

Almeria: About 500 primary teachers... a commission of 9 teachers and the provincial Chief of the "SEM" visit the Civil Governor.

Ciudad Real: About 600 Primary teachers have refused to continue the adaption course until their labour situation is cleared up.

Navarra: A thousand primary teachers ... intend to take steps in order to press their claims.

Avila: Primary teachers are sending individual telegrams of protest to the Ministry of Education and Science.

Ceuta: All the Primary teachers of the State sector have attended a meeting of protest. They have resolved not to attend the course of adaptation and urge the Delegate to resolve their situation.

Madrid: On the 24th January (1973) an assembly was held which 2,000 Primary teachers attended and they agreed to call a strike, a technical one for the first two days, holding a staff meeting without the children's attendance for the next three days and closing down the school for the last two days. The assembly concluded with a pacific demonstration in the street. Three teachers were arrested.

Valencia: About 2,000 Primary teachers went to the "SEM" to hand in a document which contains their claims. They held a demonstration through some streets of the city.

Similar news comes from all corners of the country, and a reference to all of them would be interminable, besides which their content is identical. ("El Magisterio Español No. 10, 126, 27th January 1973. The source of the news items quoted are from this publication and the daily press.")

The "SEM", as in 1968 and 1969, initially thought that they could take advantage of the teachers' discontent and manipulate it to their own interests, in their conflict with

the Opus Dei government, which so frequently centres on education. It was the "SEM" itself which actually called some of the assemblies quoted in the news items, but from the very beginning the meetings were taken over by the teachers themselves. The presence of leaders, members of the Teachers' Commissions was an important factor in the larger cities, as they were known to a number of the teachers and were able to take the initiative and organize this tremendous spontaneous movement. This was the case in Madrid, where a very popular figure (22) assumed the direction of the massive assembly which the "SEM" had called and which was held in one of the Teachers' Training Colleges. When the "SEM" bureaucrats attempted to speak they were not listened to and the teachers themselves took over the discussion. In this assembly they analysed the situation of Primary teachers in general and the particular moment in which they found themselves, reaching the decision to take strike action as the only possible manner to enforce their claims, so long ignored. The leaders of the Teachers' Commissions repeated the platform which had been the cause for the mini-strike of the year before in Madrid and it was applauded with enthusiasm by the teachers. As the "SEM" bureaucrats were present, it could be said that they too countenanced the action which commenced with a 100% support in all the primary schools of the capital and province of Madrid, on the 26th January.

In Barcelona, stirred by the example of other parts of Spain, about 500 Primary teachers went to the "SEM", demanding information and satisfaction. When they received neither, they drew up a resolution similar to the Madrid proposal, with the actions commencing on the 29th January, which they obliged the Provincial President of the "SEM", who was present, to sign. On the 29th they held a massive assembly with 4,000 teachers present, at which one teacher was arrested. The strike was carried out in almost a 100% of the schools.

The strike spread all over the country with figures of participation ranging from 60% to 100% at provincial level.

On the 28th January, the "SEM" published the following in their journal "Servicio", coming from the Provincial Chief of Madrid: "(We feel it is) opportune to advise the associations, since we cannot impose our criteria, to return to a situation of normality in order to respect, in this way, children's rights and those of their families and so that situations of another type are not produced which could prejudice the Primary teachers themselves. It is a way of allowing the government an "opportunity". (26)

The retirement from the scene on the part of the "SEM"

bureaucrats reduced the support of the strike in Madrid, somewhat. But 75% of the schools continued the action. This was especially remarkable when it is taken into account that in order to reach Madrid, a Primary teacher had to accumulate a considerable number of points (27) or enjoy a privileged situation. This meant that the average age of the teachers in the city was high and that there were a large number of "SEM" protégées.

On the 26th the Cabinet met and discussed the problem. As a result on the 27th it was reported that Primary teachers were going to receive a rise and that in about two weeks time, the exact amount would be calculated and announced. On the night of the 30th the Government, obviously alarmed by events did not wait for the two weeks but announced a specific rise which meant victory and so the teachers returned to class. In Barcelona the strike continued a couple of days longer.

On the 2nd of February the "PNNs" of the Secondary schools began a strike of a week in 23 Secondary schools in Madrid and in 34 schools in Barcelona, which represented about 80% of the schools in the two capitals and their provinces. This strike also took place in the provinces of Guadalajara, Ciudad Real, Toledo, Cuenca, Badajoz, Valencia, Alicante, Mallorca, Lérida, Sevilla, Canary Islands, Zaragoza, Lugo,

Santander, Huesca, Vizcaya, Pontevedra, Pamplona and Málaga. The teachers of "Filiales" which were State funded Secondary schools in which the teachers were placed in an ambiguous situation, since they were neither private nor State, and had no form of defence of their interests as they lacked the possibility of a private contract and access to the Labour Courts, joined this strike. Their situation was only slightly compensated by a small superiority over the salaries in the private sector. In Madrid 18 "Filiales" went on strike and also some in Barcelona.

In Madrid the private schools called for a two day strike on the 8th February. By the second day, 80 schools were participating and large assemblies, held in Churches, enabled the strike to continue and extend, reaching a 100 schools. This action was also followed in Barcelona, with great support from parents, although it only lasted one day. They circulated a document which expressed the teachers' and parents' demands, which was presented in the Delegation of the Ministry of Education on the 1st March with 10,000 signatures of parents and teachers. The reason for the importance of parents' support was that many of these schools taught through Catalan, which was forbidden in State schools, and were of a democratic nature. Progressive middle class families preferred such schools for their children. Stimulated by this action in Barcelona, the "FERE" tried to

use it as an instrument for demanding more money for grants for their schools. The Catalan document (28) stated "We opposed the campaign of masquerading free schooling and compulsory schooling which the "FERE" and school owners had organized in order to perpetuate private schools."

During the strike, as we have said, there was considerable support from parents, not confined to the private sector. The Catalan document already quoted, gave two examples reported in the press: the "Heads of Family", Associations which formed part of the Falange National Movement, of Torre Baró and Vallbona support the teachers, and the Parents Association of a school in San Cugat. All of these had published public documents expressing their support of teachers. In "Enseñanza Democrática", April 1973, devoted to an analysis of the strikes, on referring to it as a popular action and in answer to the question "What have we observed?", they wrote: "Assemblies of parents were held in schools where parents and teachers discussed the problems of their schools. The parents accepted teachers' claims. Continuous information about the strike through the pupils' exercise books. This met with parents' approval. Letters from parents addressed to the Ministry, echoing teachers' claims. Confrontation between parents and the management of private schools supporting the teachers, even in the case of dismissals." In Madrid, seven dismissals from three

different schools took place as a result of the strike, and were reported with the names of the schools in question, in "Enseñanza Democrática" (29).

In their analysis of the action, the illegal bulletin of Teachers' Commissions in Madrid emphasized the positive role of representatives, the importance of assemblies, the great vitality and organizational capacity shown by the State Primary teachers who coordinated in zones and districts which emerged, as the action progressed. They regarded as negative certain spontaneity in the direction of the strike in the private sector, which the members of Commissions were not able to check and the fact that, in spite of the solidarity which was produced, there was too little explanation of the strikes and their causes to pupils and parents. Summing up they state: "We are all conscious that this action has represented the first, authentic, mass mobilization, with the participation of thousands of teachers and has affected many more thousands of pupils. It has been different, therefore, from the previous actions, led by a vanguard. Nevertheless, the speed of the mobilizations show that the work of years of this same vanguard has left its mark and has permitted the existence of considerable clarity on the matter of teachers' claims and alternatives and the methods of struggle to obtain them. We see that the unity between primary and secondary

teachers, so often recommended by Teachers' Commissions, has become a reality with this action. In this sense the strike has meant a step forward towards the understanding and consecution of ONE SINGLE BODY OF TEACHERS. The few experiences of coordination with parents, indicates to us that there is a general comprehension of educational problems, towards the spreading of which our strike has served as a great stimulous. (30)

The social impact of the strike was certainly enormous, especially as it reached every part of the country, including sleepy towns and villages where no such action had taken place since the Civil War.

In December 1972, before what was to be the year of important strike action among teachers as we have seen, a National Meeting of representatives of the "Colegios de Licenciados" of the different University districts was held, which was attended by representatives of the "PNNs" of State Secondary schools, of "Filiales" the State funded private Secondary schools and of Private schools. The conclusions echoed the denunciations, claims and proposals of the Teachers' movement: demand for elections in the different "Colegios"; denunciation of dismissals in private schools; reduction of teaching hours and pupils per class; equal pay for Primary teachers if they assume the 11 to 14 pupils;

denunciation of the manner of application of the Education Act and the lack of respect for pedagogic criteria; protest at teachers' salary level; job stability for all teachers; rejection of a new regulation which obliged all teachers employed in the State sector to present a Certificate of Good Conduct, (anybody with a political police record, based merely on suspicion, would not receive this Certificate which was issued by the Civil Governor of each province); denouncement of the fact that 75 teachers had not had their yearly contract renewed because they lacked this Certificate; denouncement of the delay in receiving "PNNs" salaries; demand that the normal legislation applied to schools be also applied to the denominated "free" or not declared schools; demand for a new Labour Reglamentation for Private schools in accordance with the new Education Act; various pedagogic and curricular aspects which teachers wished to have more say in. This meeting also addressed an open letter to Parents and Public Opinion in general, denouncing the manner in which the new Act was being applied, and the aspects of it with which they were in disagreement, especially the double certificate at the end of "EGB" which led to selectivity at 14 years of age, the excessive number of pupils per class which rendered such positive aspects of the Act, as continuous evaluation practically impossible, likewise the excessively long working day for teachers and their low salary rate which frequently

obliged them to assume supplementary work. This meeting did indeed serve as a method of public diffusion of teachers' claims. The only sector not included were the Primary teachers as they could not belong to the "Colegio".

In March 1973, the Minister, Villar Palasi, announced that the Ministry was drawing up a Statute for teachers, in accordance with the 1970 Education Act. This produced great protest as the teachers concerned were not being consulted, nor had they any means of intervening. A letter protesting against this situation and demanding that the draft copy of the Statute be made public was presented in the Ministry with 1.165 signatures of private teachers, in April.

Meanwhile, as the elections in the "Colegio" of Madrid, which should have taken place in 1972 were postponed, on the grounds that the Statutes and composition of the "Colegios" were going to be modified, in accordance with the Education Act of 1970, the "Colegio" was still governed by the nominated committee appointed by the Ministry in 1970. Finally, in response to pressure kept up by teachers, with the Teachers' Commissions at their head, in October the elections were called for December 1973. After the mobilizations of the beginning of the year, the Teachers' movement had spread considerably as a result and by now teachers were very conscious of the need for the "Colegio" as

an ample platform. This time the Teachers' Commissions' candidature won the elections easily. Its members included socialists, communists, Catholics and other progressive teachers. From then on, the "Colegio" was open to all teachers, and to Parents and Pedagogic movements. It opened up a new stage in the Teachers' movement, which now counted on a legal means of expression. This did not mean, of course, that repression ceased, but it made public communication of their aims and objectives much easier. As Madrid had a great influence, due to the centralised view of society of the time, this could be used to promote similar movements in all the provinces of Spain, and national coordinators of the different working commissions could meet regularly in the "Colegio" of Madrid.

Participation in general actions.

From the moment of the appearance of the White Paper, mobilizations around the Education Act united teachers to the student and University Movement. Obviously their rhythms were different, but whenever possible actions were planned to coincide. In the 1973 teachers' strikes, the "PNNs" of the University also joined in.

The students, many of whom would inevitably be future teachers, were also interested to know Teachers'

Commissions' proposals.

The first political element which was introduced into the Teachers' movement was the demand for Amnesty. Since this referred to all political prisoners it really represented a demand for full political liberties. As we have seen this was called for in a professional dinner on the day of St. Thomas Aquinas in front of the Falangist President of the State Vertical Union of Teachers as early as 1968 and again publically in the Annual Assembly of the "Colegio de Licenciados" in 1970. In that same year the National meeting of the Lawyers' "Colegios", held in León, demanded Amnesty, the suspension of the Special Courts and of the death penalty. These events received great publicity and represented an important support for the labour movement which was undergoing severe repression.

In the celebration of the 1st of May from 1968 on, teachers took part. Workers' Commissions and the political parties in opposition in Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Sevilla, Valencia, Gijón....called for concentrations by means of illegal pamphlets, "pintadas" that is painting the walls of buildings, the underground and so on, assemblies in work places etc., showing great courage and ingenuity in the process. There were usually preventative arrests of well known labour leaders in the days leading up to the 1st May.

In reality the concentrations took place on the eve, the 30th April, so that workers could set out together from the factories, as the 1st was a Church holiday. The particular point of the city where it was to take place, was always totally occupied by the police. Nevertheless large numbers of people, workers, students, women, professionals congregated, called out slogans and ran from the police to return again. There were always many arrests. This was referred to as a demonstration but obviously differed greatly from what was going on in other European cities on that day. In preparation, Teachers' Commissions prepared and distributed among teachers a pamphlet in which they asked teachers to explain the political significance of this day to their colleagues and pupils and suggested ways of introducing it in the classroom,(31) as well as calling on the former to participate in the demonstration.

Also in the end of 1970, the famous Burgos trial, the Court Martial of ETA members took place and six of them were condemned to death. There was a great mobilization all over the country demanding clemency, and indeed all over the world; the governments of Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Venezuela and the Pope joined in the pleas. Many Bishops, the Lawyers' "Colegio", even newspapers such as the monarchist "ABC" or the Catholic Propagandist "Ya" also joined in. As this occurred in the

Christmas holidays, teachers of Commissions decided to visit religious order schools asking them to send telegrams to Franco requesting clemency and were well received in many cases. Finally, after an anxious Christmas, the pardon was announced on the 30th December.

As soon as the government of the "Colegio" of Madrid was in democratic hands, the possibility of meetings and combined actions together with other professional "Colegios" became possible. These were nearly always concerning democratic liberties, demanding the right to hold meetings, freedom of speech, etc. and denouncing restrictive legislation which was brought in to try and control the "Colegios" and limit their anti Regime activities.

When the famous 1001 Trial against ten leaders of Workers' Commissions was about to take place in December 1973, "Enseñanza Democrática" (no number or date is given, but presumably it was in November) devoted two pages to the trial and urged teachers to inform their companions of the injustice and also their pupils. Teachers' Commissions mobilised all teachers who could to gather outside the Law Courts on the morning of the trial as a protest against it and in solidarity for its victims. (32)

Another obvious form of integrating the Teachers' movement

into society was through its relations with pupils' parents. We have seen how some effort was made to gain their comprehension and support in the strike actions. In the next chapter their relations with the Parents' movement will be studied.

Conclusion

In this chapter the slow and gradual building up of an original, organizational formation, Teachers' Commissions, modelled to a certain extent, on the Workers' Commissions, is shown to have represented a step forward in the Teachers' Opposition movement. It has been shown how this open yet more politicized level contributed to the consolidation of this movement and made it possible for them, later on, to embark on more ambitious actions attacking the Regime.

The peculiarly natural manner in which Workers' Commissions emerged, emanating from the regular practice of the workers, is emphasized. It is also shown how the Teachers' Commissions benefited from this experience and endeavoured not to attempt to force their movement too far or too fast.

The specific features of plurality and unity are shown to have been elements which contributed to the success of Teachers' Commissions and of the methods of struggle which

they employed. Particularly notable was the union between socialists and communists at this time. All of this caused these respective parties, along with many anti Franco teachers, to share a common alternative in the matter of education.

The fact that the White Paper, which led on to the Education Act of 1970, appeared at the end of the decade of the sixties, is shown to have been an important factor in stimulating teachers' organization and subsequent mobilization against the Regime. Critical studies of the Act gave greater cohesion to Teachers' Commissions proposals and, at the same time, gained them prestige and popularity among their colleagues.

The different strike actions which took place in education at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies have been studied and it is shown that the preliminary, vanguard actions in each sector, very much organized by the Teachers' Commissions, served as pointers and helped the emergence of much more mass actions that were to follow. The thesis maintains that without such preliminary work and actions, such important strikes would not have been reached so quickly and effectively, nor would an anti Franco conscience have been so widely extended among teachers. The process of these action also helped the Teachers' movement

to advance in the elaboration of its "Alternative".

Finally the connection with other professions and with the students' and workers' movements is shown to have been a sign of greater political maturity. When teachers were ready to join in actions of solidarity of a clear political content, it meant that the movement was increasing its level of comprehension of the nature of the Regime and the need to combat and eliminate it. Mention is made of teachers' incorporation into society as a professional group, especially through their relationship with parents, which at this stage was considered by the movement itself to be too reduced. In the next chapter this element will be studied in relation to the development of a parents' movement in education.

Notes

1. Camacho, Charlas en la prisión,
Barcelona, Editorial Laia, 1976. Page 69.
2. Ibid. Page 71
3. Ibid. Page 70
4. Sartorius, Qué son las Comisiones

- Obreras?, Barcelona, Editorial La Goya
Ciencia, 1976, Page 7.
5. Ibid. Page 30.
 6. Camacho. Op. cit. Page 69.
 7. "Tribunal de Orden Pública" was a
special court set up to try political
offences. It meted out very severe
sentences in the case of leaders.
 8. Jose Manuel Torre Arca.
 9. Juan Rodriguez, State Primary teacher.
 10. Aurelio Alvea.
 11. Jose Maria Fernandez Ruiz-Tapeador.
 12. Mariano Perez Galán.
 13. Cora et al, Panfletos y prensa
antifranquista clandestina,
Madrid, Ediciones 99, 1977. Page 9.

14. Ibid. Interview of Federico Melchor, editor of "Mundo Obrero." Page 135.
15. Author's archives.
16. Galán, Después de todo. Recuerdos de un periodista de la Piranaica, Barcelona, Editorial Anthropos, 1988, Page 246.
17. Jose Manuel Torre Arca.
18. Mariano Perez Galán.
18. "La Cuadra" was and is a distinguished Flamenco Theatrical and Dance Group. This refers to their little theatre and rehearsal rooms.
20. Aurelio Alvea.
21. Author's archives.
22. Fernando Martinez Pereda.
23. "Informaciones" 13th May 1971 informed

of the first letter and the same paper
on the 14th May 1971 published the
second letter.

24. Author's archives.
25. Angel Diaz Zamorano.
26. "El Magisterio Español" No. 10, 127
3rd February 1973.
- 27 Primary teachers obtained points from
their position in the competitive
entrance exam., then for each posting
to a school, according to the no. of
years they stayed in each one.
28. Author's archives.
29. Ibid.
30. "Enseñanza Democrática", Madrid April
1973.
31. The following is an example of a piece
of writing from two 11 year old, working

class boys, whose teacher, Alberto Barrios, had held a discussion on the 1st May: "This feast day of the worker is an international feast, in which everybody takes part, so as to be able keep his family with an adequate salary. We children are all a bit nervous about the Strikes* because we don't have any idea what they are. But we believe that they are nothing bad but rather they benefit us, because they try to have a society without exploiters or exploited people. Every worker must be united in a just society so that there is brotherhood. Because when we work we lose energy and this must be replaced with food and rest. There are workers who have to work in unhealthy places and this must be avoided. The workers do this for their own good so that there won't be any more misery. We want at the end to have peace and that all the workers in all countries will be content.

Getafe, 30th April 1960."

*The word "strike" was popularly used to describe any sort of anti Regime

activity, demonstration, march, etc.

32. The celebration of the trial coincided with ETA's assassination of the Vice President, Carrero Blanco, which took place a few streets away from the Law Courts. There were many arrests outside the building, but fortunately no reprisals were taken.

Introduction:

In this chapter it is intended to demonstrate how the Teachers' Movement and teachers in general, on their own initiative and with no help from the Administration, rather official disapproval and even repression, tried to elevate their professional competence. Spontaneous groups were formed all over the country who analysed classroom realities and discussed curriculum content, pupil-teacher relationships, methodology and so on, in an effort to design the future school they wished to create. These groups helped to give greater pedagogic content to the Teachers' Movement's "Alternative". It is maintained that this pedagogic movement managed to connect with and revive pedagogic traditions of the pre Civil War period and also attempted to break the school's institutional isolation from society and connect it with its environment.

The different ideological trends which existed in this process will be studied and it is maintained that in this field there was a greater variety of positions than in the

area of educational policy in which marxist, socialist traditions, adapted to the concrete situation of Spain at that moment, predominated. This diversity arose from the influences of the past, as well as a greater permeability towards pedagogic trends in Europe and America. It is also significant that this movement was the first to introduce the problem of woman's role in society and to study and denounce sexism in education in a specific manner. This early period of these movements has not been greatly studied, but a significant source of information and analysis is the publication "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" which was founded in Barcelona in January 1975, by educationalists who were identified with the pedagogic movement in Cataluña and with the anti Franco Teachers' movement. This journal has always paid special attention to the pedagogic movements and opened its pages to the exponents of the various theories defended in them.

Obviously the first and most direct way of schools' penetration into society is through their relationship with pupils' parents. Again it will be shown how this arose in the first place spontaneously, especially in working class areas, through parents' struggle for school places. This connected some teachers, in a natural manner, with the popular movement. Then, with the advent of the White Paper and the 1970 Education Act, a perspective of

institutionalizing parents' participation in schools was opened up, although in no way officially defined nor established. However this did not deter the immediate creation of Parent's Associations and the setting in motion of what may be termed, the parent's movement. This thesis maintains that teachers themselves and their Movement, served as an important stimulus and support for these initiatives.

Finally the synthesis of all these processes, the Teachers' Movement's "Alternative", will be studied and it will be shown how its content corresponded to teachers' experiences and struggles throughout all this period. Their effort to overcome the tremendous obstacles placed in their way due to lack of political liberties and to change the obsolete educational system in which they were trapped, conditioned their view of the future. Many specific expressions of this "Alternative" will be listed and the influence exercised in different areas of society will be examined. This thesis maintains that its influence was profound and may, indeed, be measured by the Church's reaction to it, which will also be explained.

Movements for Pedagogic Reform

Another element in what can be described as teacher

resistance to the Franco Regime and an attempt to introduce radical change in schools, was the emergence of groups of teachers who, starting from a pedagogic stance, attempted an analysis of the schools' role and developed proposals for change. This movement for reform was, at times, confused about its own motives or objectives, other than a burning desire to overcome the inadequacies of their own initial training and the miseries of the impoverished, memoristic, authoritarian school in which they were obliged to work. In many cases the teachers who embarked on these attempts, were less politically informed than the initiators of the Teachers' Movement in general, although in other cases the initiative had its roots in the Movement itself and made use of the conquest of legal platforms, for this type of activity.

As with all movements of a democratic nature, they soon clashed with official reality which normally produced one of two results: either they became more politically conscious and drew closer to the groups of teachers involved in political struggle who were drawing up their alternative; or their analysis ceased to question the role of the school in society and the group concentrated on a more specific, immediate and pragmatic aim of improving methodology.

In general, primary teachers, at first, were more concerned

about pedagogic questions than secondary teachers. The reasons for this, can be found in the fact that the former had a more "professional" attitude from the very start, in the sense that their initial preparation in the Training Colleges, however deficient it may have been, nevertheless was a specific professional training. They knew that its objective was to convert them into teachers and teaching would be their professional activity, (although as we have mentioned, many used this qualification to enter the civil service or the police); therefore they started out on their careers with a different mentality. Whereas among graduates, as we have explained, this professional conscience, in the majority of cases, was something to be acquired and which the Teachers' Movement made a very deliberate effort to stimulate. Also there was a tendency to regard the Secondary State School as a mini University, where the "magisterial class" or lecture enjoyed prestige and active pedagogic methods would seem out of place and even inferior.

Because of the strict political control exercised over State Primary Schools, it was inevitable that the movement started in private schools. Initially it was connected with the struggle to preserve national language and culture in Cataluña, Valencia and Euskadi, the Basque Country. In this question, teachers would find support from middle class parents and could endeavour, cautiously and timidly, to

connect with similar movements which had existed before the Civil War. The fact of its beginning in the private sector, obviously introduced an additional element of confusion as to the ideological content of these movements. Many of these private schools had been created for the purpose of preserving the national language and culture, whether as cooperatives or owned by parents, etc., and were definitely of a middle class and not popular nature. However, both the parents and teachers involved, considered that these private schools were a necessary compromise, given the situation in the Regime's State system which was totally centralist and actively opposed to such nationalist manifestations. They were largely committed to a future democratic Public School.

Although the pedagogic movement was very much a minority one, especially in its first stages in the sixties and even when it spread around the country, continued to attract a minority participation, nevertheless its influence was important and it helped to enlarge the scope and content of the "Alternative" proposed by the opposition. It began in Cataluña and has remained up to the present day, stronger and more influential there, than in any other part of the Spanish State. The reasons for this are to be found in the history and traditions of a strong pedagogic movement which dated from the beginning of the century and was linked with the nationalist cultural and linguistic problems of

Cataluña.

"Escola d'Estiu de Barcelona", Barcelona Summer School

This summer school was organized at the beginning of the century, by a group of progressive teachers in Barcelona who were in touch with European currents in education related to the New School. Their first Summer School for teachers was held in 1914 and was financed by local government. Its content was based on an exposition and analysis of the Montessori method, manual activities in education and drawing from life.

After that first Summer School, the Mancommunity of Local Councils in Cataluña took over the organization and the summer schools continued to be held every year up until 1923. After this, the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera suspended the Mancommunity and also the Summer School, which did not resume its activities until 1930, after the fall of the military dictatorship. In that year, the School was organized and financed by the teachers themselves. In 1931, during the Republic, the Government of Cataluña assumed the task and costs of organizing the summer school. It was held every year up until 1936 when, with the programme already established, it should have started on the 22nd July. As on the 18th July, General Franco's rebellion gave rise to the

start of the Civil War, which affected Barcelona on the 19th, it naturally did not take place.

At first, during the period up until 1923, the emphasis was on scientific subjects, added to an interest in international trends; for example in 1917 there were courses on Montessori, Decroly, Dewey and Claparède. The latter was a lecturer in the Summer School of 1919. In the second period, beginning in 1930, the Summer School was more Catalan orientated, with classes of Cataán, the History and Geography of Cataluña, and so on. Also there was greater emphasis on the study of the child itself from a psychological and anthropological point of view. In 1931, the School was especially devoted to active methods in education and the specific linguistic problems of schools in Cataluña were dealt with. In 1933 Freinet attended and gave a course. A new element was introduced which was called "Pedagogic Conversations". This seminar type activity was based on "Civic and moral education in the Republic's Schools", with great emphasis on their lay or non-clerical content. These "Pedagogic Conversations" were on going and in 1934 the same topic was continued, adding to it the problem of the Unified School, so it can be seen that matters of educational policy were beginning to be introduced. In 1936, had it taken place, there would have been a special section on economy and sociology.(1)

After another, this time considerably longer parenthesis, thirty years, on the 19th July 1966, the "Rosa Sensat School for Teachers", (2) a private institution inspired by an interest in Catalan language, education and culture, recommenced the Summer School of Barcelona, which has continued ever since. Once more it was financed and organized by the teachers themselves, incorporated in the Association of Rosa Sensat. "In the decade of the sixties, an educational movement, deeply rooted in a middle class who lacked any means of inserting themselves in education, took up again models pertaining to a past with a wide and rich experience in this field. Thus, a private institution like "Rosa Sensat" and its culminating activity: the Summer School, had an ever growing audience and effective practice in educational transformation especially in primary and pre school levels." (3)

In all the different stages of its existence, the Summer School of Barcelona has been strongly influenced by the national culture and language of Catalunya, which have formed the background to most of its programmes. But at the same time, it has been open to all the most modern trends in education and brought teachers into contact with whatever was going on in research and in practice, in schools in Europe, as well as in the rest of Spain and Catalunya itself.

When its activities were resumed cautiously in 1966, they were done so by a group of teachers and Catalan speaking schools, mainly private, who were attempting to separate themselves from the limited and aggressively anti-Catalan State school system. They drew up a series of principles of a pedagogic nature, with an extremely vague political content. In fact, initially they took care to emphasize its purely pedagogic nature, both because of the lack of political liberties at the time, and because the components themselves represented diverse political options which had not yet been defined. In time, it became obvious that it was inspired by teachers of progressive ideas who were obviously against the Regime. The President of "Rosa Sensat" subsequently became a member of Parliament for the Socialist Party in democracy. (4) At first, attendance at the Summer School was restricted to teachers, mainly from primary and Teacher Training Colleges, in Cataluña, but gradually news of this annual encounter spread throughout the country and teachers from all the regions of Spain began to attend the School. There was a special interest on the part of teachers from Galicia and Euskadi, who shared a national and linguistic problem with Cataluña. Its content became more and more political and more openly anti-franquist. "The political motivations of these steps (referring to Franco's

legal measures prohibiting the teaching of Catalán, Euskera, etc.) indicated that the question was not indifferent to the struggle for and concept of political power. On the one hand, autonomist political, or simply regionalist, movements have always stimulated and at the same time rested on autonomous cultural movements and the development of a complete schooling system, independent from the State, structured around Local Government, City Halls, or any other type of non centralist institutions. On the other hand, autonomous cultural movements and their achievements in the field of education, in so far as a part of the obstacles to their development have been concentrated in political actions of the central power, have tended to become politicised, and to become conscious of the fact that their survival has always depended to a large extent on what happened on a political level." (5)

The Teachers' Movement in general began to participate in the Barcelona Summer School, using this exceptional platform as a means to explain their alternatives. Naturally this forced them to reflect more deeply on the pedagogic content of the "Alterantive" which, in the seventies, became known as the "Escuela Pública", Public School, as is shown in the important document which was a synthesis of the discussion held in the Summer School of Barcelona in 1975, entitled "Por una Nueva Escuela Pública", For a New Public

School. Another element that enriched the "Alternativa" was its anti centralist quality, reaching towards greater autonomy in schools` and less uniformity. These annual encounters helped to spread ideas and collect new elements on a national level and the open atmosphere of free discussion was most beneficial to the Movement in general.

Other Pedagogic Groups

Another movement which began in the sixties were the followers of the teachings of Freinet. The Association, at first called, A.C.I.E.S., Association for School Correspondence and Printing, which sounded totally aseptic, and later on, MCEP, "Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuelas Populares", Cooperative Movement of Popular Schools, was already well established and influential in state primary schools in various parts of Europe, especially France and Italy, and attracted the attention of State Primary Teachers in Spain, joined by some teachers from small progressive private schools, usually cooperatives. These groups began in Valencia and Asturias and from the start, they tried to extend the movement all over the country. They held seminars or encounters at a national level, under the precarious, semi clandestine conditions of the epoch.

They were in agreement with the Teachers` Movement`s

positions, in general and with the "Alternative" which was being developed. They held their first public Congress in 1973 and spread all over the country. This Congress was aimed at developing and extending their Association, creating Delegations in different parts of the country, and also putting into practice ACIES' collective work method which would enable their members to adopt a coherent attitude towards educational problems. On that first legal occasion, for there had been other previous national meetings of a more clandestine nature, members attended from Sevilla, Malaga, Granada, Almeria, Asturias, Zaragoza, Salamanca, Madrid, Mallorca and Barcelona. The Basque members were unable to come. These groups had commenced work in the previous decade. They started holding Summer Schools from 1975 on.

In Valencia there existed an association concerned with preserving the language, Valencian, (a dialect of Catalan), called "Lo Rat Penat". From 1951 onwards they organised courses in the language, which were attended by many teachers. The University of Valencia in 1971, 1972 and 1973 organized Summer Schools on the subject of the teaching of Valencian language and culture, which were attended by teachers, mainly from the primary sector. Within the "Colegio de Licenciados", a Pedagogic Seminar was constituted and came to fruition when the Teachers'

Movement's candidature won the elections in the early seventies. "This Seminar arose out of our dissatisfaction with pupils' failures and the general deficiencies of our education system, and its studies, carried out from the first with a democratic perspective, have brought out the need for democratic change in all fields, which has caused us to draw up a democratic alternative for education in a democratic society" (6)

In Euskadi, as in Cataluña, the linguistic problems gave rise to the creation of private schools where the teaching was in Euskera. At first these were of a more popular nature and maintained by public subscription. Many of their teachers were or became sympathizers of ETA. As they developed they became a more middle class institution and have survived at quite an elitist level, subsidised by the Government of Euskadi. The most important pedagogic group in Euskadi and Navarra is Adarra, which commenced in the early seventies and has always been concerned with Basque culture and language in the State school.

In Galicia, the linguistic problem was different from the other "nationalities". It was not defended by the middle class of an industrialised area, such as Cataluña, Valencia or Euskadi; Gallego was and is spoken by peasants in the rural areas. In a study carried out in the province of Lugo,

the results showed that "48% of the Gallego speakers come from villages, 32% from small towns and only 18.9% from the city. On the other hand, 72% of the Castillian speakers were from the capital of Lugo, 29% from the towns and 8% had been born outside of Galicia." (7) The pedagogic groups were created mainly by State primary teachers concerned with their pupils' linguistic problems, as they spoke Gallego at home, which had frequently been held up to ridicule and associated with a backward, peasant way of life, while Castillian was imposed on them as a superior language. The University in Santiago de Compostela and the Teacher Training College in Lugo, the latter especially because of the presence of an important Galician intellectual on its staff (8), also stimulated these activities to promote Galician language and culture.

The question of parents' participation in schools, which was part of the Movements' "Alternative", received special attention in the Summer Schools. For example, in the II Summer School of Aljarafe, in Sevilla, after criticising the obstacles which parents encountered in their attempts to participate they reached the following conclusions: "We think that it is impossible to speak of parents' participation in education, unless proper channels and adequate proposals exist. Schools should be public and controlled by the Parents' Association, Teachers' Union, a

council of pupils and the Administration. With democratic structures and constant pedagogic transformation, all children will find school places and there will be full employment for teachers. In order to avoid centralization and monopolies in education, a democratic management of schools is necessary, in which pupils' parents, the school's workers and pupils will intervene." (9)

In all versions which were published of the "Alternativa" parents' role was emphasised, as well as establishing links with the environment. These two aspects were especially developed in the Summer Schools. For example, in the Barcelona Summer School of 1976, they continued working on the document published the year before and in relation to the school's environment, proposed: "that the external environment enter into the work which is strictly of the school; that school activities provide the community with elements of promotion; that, outside school hours, the building should serve as a cultural stimulous to the area where it is situated; in agreement with the school's democratic management, cultural and leisure activities may be organized, etc. with the voluntary attendance of pupils and all the population." (10)

In that same Summer School, the brief references concerning the abolition of sexism in education which had hitherto

appeared in the "Alternatives", were made much more explicit: "That the elimination of all discrimination against women be worked for, and that specific and effective action be taken to overcome the myths, taboos and distinctions between man and woman's role, so as to eliminate the traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity; that the separation of the sexes be ended and that coeducation be taken as the basis with all its general values, and with all the positive values up to now attributed to the man or the woman separately. This coeducation will create new relations which in turn will establish new values." (11)

The socialist ideological inheritance of the past in education, that is the inheritance of the 19th century, included reformists ideas and more radical positions. This was divided into two trends, "those who believed that a State educational apparatus should be constructed ...; and those who proposed an alternative, lay, autonomous class orientated school." (12) These same ideas, obviously developed and conditioned by all that had passed, emerged again in the sixties. The first trend was supported and sustained by the clandestine Communist and Socialist parties and prevailed in the Teachers' Movement. The other trend lacked the support of an active anarchist organization, which had existed before the Civil War of course, but found

expression in nuclei of teachers who were influenced by their professional reality. These ideas frequently found expression in pedagogic groups which were spontaneously formed and which connected especially with the anti-authoritarian, educational ideas imported from abroad of Neill, Rogers, Illich, etc.

In 1981, "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" published a list of all the summer schools held in the preceding year, (13) indicating how many years they had been functioning. In many cases, as with the ACIES association, the date of their first public appearance was preceded by some years of more limited local, informal or semi clandestine activity. In reality, it can be affirmed, that in all cases they were preceded by pedagogic discussion groups, of greater or lesser importance, some more structured and periodic than others, and some forming part of the Teachers' Movement, while others were disconnected and spontaneous. It was on the foundations of such an activity, which had been almost clandestine, that most of the open Pedagogic Associations which emerged in the seventies, rested. Until the coming of democracy in 1977, none of them could count on any official funding.

Publications which were widely read by teachers

Certain books were widely read and exercised a specific influence on the Teachers' Movement. The choice was not wide as the progressive book shops were under pressure and frequent journeys to Paris, or other parts of France were the only solution. This was obviously easier for the Basque or Catalan teachers. All Freinet's publications were popular and introduced by "MCEP" or "ACIES". The great interest in Marxism and the important role played in the movement by Communists and Marxist Socialists, along with progressive Catholics, themselves very influenced by Marx, made Marx, Engels and Lenin's writings on the theme of education popular. Gramsci was enthusiastically read, as the Communist Party developed its Eurocommunist theories, and other Italian marxist writers on education such as Manacorda and Lombardo Radice were widely read.

Perhaps one of the most influential works, discovered by teachers after they had evolved their objectives of "Cuerpo Unico" and "Ciclo Unico", that is one body of teachers and one cycle of education, was the translation published in Alberto Merani's book about the theories of Wallon, of the Langevin Wallon Plan. There they found their "Alternative" developed in that exciting document produced in France towards the end of the II World War. As a result, the Plan itself was popularised, as were all Merani and Wallon's work and the collection in which it had appeared, Grijalbo's

Pedagogic Collection, published in Mexico.

Another Plan, the controversial "Escuela Unificada", Unified School of Allende's Government in Chile, which like the Langevin Wallon Plan was never to be put into practice, was widely distributed, having been reproduced, as was explained in chapter six, by the UNESCO Club in Madrid.

From the Soviet Union, the classic "Pedagogic Poem" of Makarenko, as well as Krupskaya's Memoirs were obviously read, and also the works of Luria, Leontiev and Vigotsky, all of whom were found at first, usually in Mexican or Argentinian editions.

Another marxist writer who was widely read was the Polish Bogdan Suchodolwski, whose works were translated at an early date. In 1977, before the Communist Party was legalised, he attended a seminar on education organised by the teachers of the Communist Party.(14)

The Catholic influence naturally brought in Freire, who became very popular. Another source of inspiration, especially in those circles, was the social doctrine of the Second Vatican with its progressive, forward looking ideas on education.

All UNESCO publications, books, magazines and pamphlets, as well as short documents, were constantly used as a support for proposals and as a means to keep in touch with educational development in other countries.

Parents' Movement

The oldest form of organization of parents in education in Spain, dates from 1929, when the Catholic Confederation was founded, based on the organization of parents with children in religious order schools. This Confederation belonged to ACNP, referred to in Chapter Four, the Catholic Propagandists. It was the only one to survive after the Civil War during the Franco Regime. Its position during this latter period was extremely conservative and attuned to the reigning fascist philosophy. It also enjoyed the exclusive representation of parents, as it was the only existing legal Confederation, on the "Consejo Nacional de Educación", National Education Council, which was the highest consultative body of the Ministry of Education. This was not a very active or dynamic body, but nevertheless could be used to reinforce Government policy when the occasion required.

The contemporary participation of parents in school matters, dates from the period of industrial expansion of the late

fifties and early sixties and originally meant a participation from outside. That is, the families who had migrated from rural areas and entered the large cities in search of work; as soon as they reached subsistence level, they began to look for a school for their children. In their former village situation a school existed, perhaps in a building which was falling apart and had not been attended to since the end of the Civil War and, of course, in the more remote areas, the presence of a teacher or teachers was frequently not guaranteed. One of two situations might have arisen, either a teacher was never sent to the school or the teacher who arrived, overcome by the appalling conditions and the loneliness and isolation of village life, abandoned the task after a few months. However, in their new urban existence, the school did not necessarily exist at all.

The first indications of what could be termed a civic or neighbours' movement, as it was called in Spain, were the spontaneous groupings and actions of citizens in order to protest against the appalling conditions in which they were obliged to live in the outskirts of the cities, or in the satellite towns surrounding them, which were typical examples of uncontrolled speculation and gerry building. These actions frequently occurred around the lack of traffic lights, pedestrian crossings, railway level crossing gates, etc., when accidents occurred and children were often killed

or injured. The lack of water and passable roads were other causes, but one of the most frequent and powerful motives for citizen action was the demand for school places. As the adaption to the new conditions of industrial urban life made it clear that the lack of education and access to culture was such an obvious handicap, the working class began to demand schools. The mothers were the most active and in many areas carried out demonstrations, petitions, held meetings and assemblies in the churches and public squares and, as the movement advanced, hired coaches to take them into the centre of the city and the Provincial Education Delegation of the Ministry, in order to carry out their vigorous protests, before the Provincial Delegate himself. Naturally such activities received constant police harassment, direct repression and arrests. But, even so, these visits of angry mothers were greatly feared by the Education Delegates.

Once schools were achieved, and it may be said that these movements had considerable influence on school planning, where the mothers mobilised with greater strength, the schools were built, other matters occupied the mothers, such as: lack of teachers in the schools, insufficient equipment, deterioration in the buildings, etc. It is from such popular manifestations of their demands for schooling for their children, that the Parents' Association movement may be said to have grown. As usual the spontaneous and extra legal

activity preceded its legalization and institutionalization.

The fact that the origin of the movement was of such a combative nature, created certain problems later on, when their Associations became legalised. Parents continued to attack the schools, in many ways, thereby creating a hostile reaction in teachers. The necessary atmosphere of co-responsibility and cooperation between parents and teachers, proved difficult to create, as the parents, very naturally, at first felt they were dealing with the administration and tended to lump teachers, especially head teachers, into that category. On the other hand, when teachers managed to establish good relationships with parents and merit their confidence, they were, of course, teachers' best allies in all their struggles. In one very poor, isolated, working class, Madrid area, a leader of the State Primary teachers was elected Headmaster (15), and was very much loved by the parents of his school. Taking advantage of his position, some clandestine meetings of Teachers Commissions were held in his School, with mothers on the look out, in case the police appeared. On an occasion of a totally different nature, an official event, when the Education authorities were attending a solemn opening of a new wing in this school, the mothers, on seeing the police arrive first, all rushed to the school to defend their head master, who had to explain that this was a perfectly legal

occasion.

The first formal attempt on the part of the opposition to the Regime to surround the School institution with a progressive body of parents was carried out in Andalucia, in Jerez, in the sixties. With the support and help of a progressive Primary Inspector, (a very unusual figure for the epoch) an Association which was called "Amigos de la Escuela", Friends of the School, was formed, where pedagogic and educational matters were discussed, proposals made to the Headmaster and teachers of the State school and active support and participation from the parents encouraged. Naturally it did not escape the attention of the police and after a period of the usual harassment, it was closed by the Authorities after three years' activity.

In 1969, the Government's White Paper made a discreet mention of the possibility of creating Parents' Associations. "Around each School, Associations of Pupils' Parents could be constituted, which would participate in determined aspects of the respective Schools' programme of activities, offering their support and advice." (16) In spite of the vagueness of the reference and the obviously limited character which these Associations were intended to have, groups of parents, already active in the spontaneous movements around schools, immediately tried to put into

practice the hinted at possibilities of a Pupils' Parents' Association.

One of the first to be constituted was in a State Primary School in Madrid, in a new, residential suburb, with a middle class and working class population. The School, which had a very reactionary Headmaster, was a "Pilot School", which meant that it was supposed to be experimental, received a more generous budget and that its teachers were, in theory, specially selected for their pedagogic excellence, without having to follow the normal system of points for reaching a school in the capital. Unfortunately this system, known as a service commission, more frequently meant favouritism and the appointment of teachers able to obtain favours from the Delegate or other important persons, and so get to the capital by a short cut, rather than real pedagogic excellence.

A group of progressive parents of this school, called for an assembly and were astonished at the result, as about a thousand parents attended and enthusiastically supported the idea of an Association. Statutes were drawn up which had to be modified several times, before they received administrative approval,(17) and the difficult life of the Association began, counting on the most active and direct opposition from the Headmaster. Nevertheless this

Association continued to mobilize parents and managed to remain active and gradually achieve influence in the School. Its Statutes were used as a model for many other Associations all over Madrid and other parts of the country which grew up in a similar manner, filling with this expression of a popular demand, an institutional vacuum, and always exposed to the precarious conditions of an ambiguous legality.

The Teachers' Commissions investigated all possibilities for forming these associations and the Education Commission of UNESCO Club in Madrid published a document which explained the various possibilities.(18) The existing Catholic Federation was able to form their Associations according to the legally established norms of Associations depending on the Church. The new Associations created by parents, either used the, frequently, already existing Association of Heads of Family, which formed part of the Falange National Movement, like the "SEM" etc., or came under the Associations Act of 1964, which was very restrictive. The former simply gave a new entity to the already existing association and added "Parents of Pupils" to its name. It is characteristic of this period, that use was made of any legal possibility, no matter how distasteful its connections with the Falange might be, provided it gave some sort of legal covering.

In the 1970 Education Act, Parents' Associations were mentioned in six articles of the Act, but all the concrete norms which should have facilitated their creation and functioning, were not drawn up and passed until several years later. The UNESCO Club's document was produced in 1971 or 1972, it bears no date so memory must be relied on, in order to promote these associations and offer advice and help in the process of setting them up and in their running. They expressed themselves willing to conduct talks, debates, discussions, etc. on pedagogic or cultural themes. The notion of converting the Parents' Association into a School for Parents, was always present and in several cases, carried out.

This document warned parents of the possible difficulties they would encounter, once they had overcome the technical obstacles involved in creating the Association: "The first spontaneous reaction of most Primary Teachers towards the creation of a Parents' Association in their school, could be described as defensive, sceptical and negative. This fact, which is of course disconcerting and discouraging for parents, has an easy explanation if we analyze the history of the body of primary teachers since the Civil War." (19) Then followed a vivid account of the wretched, labour, professional, political and social situation of State

Primary Teachers, expressed with remarkable frankness. It ends up in the following manner: "If we add to (teachers') deficient preparation and consequent professional frustration, the dearth of materials and adequate conditions in schools, we will finally understand why teachers, almost instinctively, consider any participation on the part of parents in school life, as an intromission, an attempt to "inspect" and "control", since they have had almost no experience of stimulus or cooperation throughout their professional lives. Moreover, there appears to have been a deliberate intention to separate teachers' and parents' activities." (20) On the positive side, the document suggests ways and means by which teachers and parents can collaborate in the solving of the various problems and deficiencies they will encounter in the school. In this sense, the Association continues to be given a combative role, but side by side with teachers, joined in common interest. It also suggests entering into relationship with any other associations of neighbours or cultural pursuits, which may exist in the area in order to look for support and create a common cultural programme.

One of the most serious problems which separated Primary State Teachers and parents was the theme of "permanencias", which referred to a quantity of money which the Administration permitted the teacher to receive from parents

in return for keeping the children an extra hour in school. In 1963, the Ministry of Education established this system, obviously in order to supplement the very low salary level endured by the teachers, but, of course, turned them into accomplices in accepting payment in a supposedly free public service. At first they were permitted to receive 50 Pts. per child, but in time this degenerated into a form of business, in which everyone was implicated, parents, teachers and inspectors who turned a blind eye, and the sums charged increased considerably in many schools. In 1970 "permanencias" were banished by decree, but permitted to continue under other names, "revision", "remedial classes" etc. In the sixties, even just accepting the 50 pts., if a teacher had 40 pupils in his or her class, which was normal, the sum of money received represented over 40% of the salary they were receiving, so the "corruption" was economically important for teachers. A further negative consequence was that teachers could be persuaded to accept more than 40 pupils in their classes, the law permitted 40 or an additional fraction. The Teachers' Movement had to be careful about demanding the suppression of these payments, as they did genuinely help the disastrous financial situation of primary teachers. In 1974, the Commission of Education of the UNESCO Club published a document denouncing the "permanencias", linking their prohibition to a substantial rise in teachers salaries and calling for unity of teachers,

headmasters, inspectors and parents.(21) This cruel practice continued right up until democracy.

The intense activity of parents in general and Parents' Associations is reflected in the following clandestine publication's account: "Tarrasa, (Cataluña). In March, students' parents presented a document to the Secondary School Inspectors. Several hundred people participated in the demonstration to hand in the document, which contained 1,100 signatures. They supported the teachers' claims and most definitely oppose a rise in the schools' fees. In the district of Horta, thousands of signatures were collected from teachers and parents presenting different demands. It was decided to hand in the signatures all together on the 1st March; 2,000 people attended (the press speaks of various hundreds and all those who sign never attend, which leads us to suppose there were many more signatures.)(22)

In 1973, a document entitled "Parents and Teachers united for a Democratic Education" tells us of the joint assemblies which have been held these days. "They have dealt with the teachers' situation: low salaries, instability, discrimination in social security, the situation of education, lack of school places, the CONTROL of education: there only exists an extra-academic control which is neither pedagogic nor scientific. The assemblies were held in more

than ten towns. An education movement has been formed whose objective is to work and pressurize for a democratic education system. Signatures have been collected for a document demanding: the creation of new school places; adequate conditions in schools; improved conditions for teachers; suppression of academic controls." (23)

In the 1973 teachers' strike, it has already been explained that parent support was especially important in Cataluña. It is of interest to reproduce a letter to the editor of a Barcelona newspaper, sent by the parents and teachers Association of the school "Joaquín Pla Farreras" in the Catalan village of San Cugat del Vallés, as it shows the degree of compenetration reached between teachers and parents, during a period of strike, which always creates real problems for families. "IN SOCIETY'S BENEFIT

Dear Sir,

We would like to express our reflections on a theme of great importance and much in the news at the moment: EGB, Basic General Education and the treatment which it receives from those responsible for it.

Great, very great, perhaps excessively great hopes were placed in the Education Act and it would appear that from the very minute it was introduced, it has received blow after blow, giving the sensation that what the majority of parents saw as a serious attempt to resolve the education

problem, is going to be frustrated. How else can we interpret the most recent measure taken concerning Primary Teachers' incentive allowance, but as a rude blow? (24) What reasons exist for the treatment of this forgotten body of professionals with such discrimination as not applying the same criteria as is applied to other groups of teachers? Why, throughout all last week, was it insistently stated that the Primary Teachers' salaries would be 18,000 Pts., without explaining the enormous deductions which are made, nor that, once again, they have been discriminated against? Noone is told that the amount they receive for housing is 291 Pts. a month, when they have to pay from 3,000 to 4,000 Pts. to rent a flat; nor is it told that, when they are ill, they have to pay for medicines from their own pockets, whereas any worker receives them free from the Social Security.

But if matters were already bad, it would seem that they are going to get worse, for what spirit of unity and collaboration, both so necessary for a good education, can exist within a school, where there are primary teachers with a slightly higher salary and others, who having the same knowledge and carrying out the same duties, earn a salary of 8,700 Pts., added to the fact that they are forced to sign a contract which ends every 31st August?

For all these reasons, we profoundly lament the situation which has been created by such unfortunate

measures and, at the same time, we are happy to make public our support and approval of the primary teachers' claims, because we know that the spirit they are showing can only have beneficial results for society.

Signed: Committee of the Association of Parents and Teachers of the School "Joaquín Pla Farreras".

(25)

There are many other examples of parents' struggles for adequate school transport, against damp and poor heating in schools, for proper roads giving access to schools, for pre schools, etc. which were reflected in the press in the early seventies. These experiences and the Teachers' Movement's awareness of parents' importance, enriched the "Alternative" in this respect.

The "Alternative"

Although the first legal publication of a draft of the "Alternative" was not until January 1975 in the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid, the process of elaboration had been lengthy and collective. In various illegal pamphlets different aspects of it were developed. In No. 3 of "Enseñanza Democrática", (26) the clandestine publication of Madrid Teachers' Commissions, published some time in 1971, it bears no date, there appeared perhaps the first more filled out version of the "Alternative", "Cuerpo Unico-Ciclo Unico", One body of teachers-One cycle of education. The name "Escuela Pública" was not used until 1974, when the "Alternative" began to be discussed in the Madrid "Colegio".

What the anti Franco teachers' movement had determined through their sterile professional experience in the Regime's schools and through the more enriching if arduous experience of their struggle for better professional conditions and political freedom, they expressed in an alternative proposal for education in Spain. Their conclusions were in no way limited to a study of their own professional and labour problems, although these had been

the starting point of their reflections, but were carried on to represent a formulation of what they considered to be the best way of meeting society's needs in the field of education. The "Alternative" as its plural expression became to be known as, began with a design for teachers who should have an equal status, whatever the level they were employed in. This meant that their initial preparation should be equal in length and category, although differentiated in its content. This was a constant factor in all versions of the "Alternative". With regard to the content of education, there was again a demand for equality, so that all pupils should follow the same course of studies up until the age of 16 without being subjected to any internal selective process. From 16 to 18 some options or differentiations would be accepted. Again this aspect was unanimously accepted by all expressions of the "Alternative".

Some differences arose with respect to the management of schools, as the decentralization, a factor common to all, was more or less accentuated in different versions. The degree of autonomy for schools, the freedom to select curriculum and activities and adapt the learning process to a school's environment, was one of the elements which separated various versions of the "Alternative". Within this question, however, there was a full agreement on parent's role in education and their right to participate in school

management. More polemical were the differences with regard to private schools and to teachers' trade unions. In the case of the first question, most of the alternatives adopted a pragmatic, realistic view, conditioned by the reality of the importance of the private sector, in which special emphasis was laid on teachers' rights of expression and freedom to carry out their professional tasks in accordance with their own personal values, while accepting the possibility of private schools of different natures entering into the public network. This feature led to a more flexible and enriching definition of the "Public School". On the other hand, there was a more "orthodox", rigid viewpoint which advocated nationalization of the school system and the prohibition of private schools. In relation to a future independent, democratic, trade union, most versions opted for a single union of teachers connected to a central trades' council. However, in some versions, the establishment of different trade unions which should work towards this unity was advocated.

The first element of the "Alternative", commenced with the "Cuerpo Unico", Single body of teachers, which was aimed at eliminating both labour and professional discrimination among teachers. The discriminations to be eliminated, salary, working hours, initial training and so on, were seen both from the point of view of social justice for this

professional group, as from the impact this would have on the process of education itself. Teachers who were better paid, better trained, less divided and enjoying a greater social esteem, would be more efficient and creative in their work. Obviously this first element developed out of teachers' analysis of their extraordinarily divided situation, which was one of their earliest preoccupations, as the different pamphlets show.

The next element, "Ciclo Unico", One cycle of education, again arose from the study of discriminations, this time among pupils and was aimed at achieving the same education and opportunities for all, without internal selective processes, until the age of 18. Some optional divisions were seen to be necessary from the age of 16, but not before that. The very obvious differences between the educational opportunities of the working class and peasant children, as compared to the more prosperous classes was scandalously apparent in society.

The idea of "Escuela Pública", Public school, emerged from the study of the chaotic situation of the Spanish system with over 40% of all pupils of different age groups, in private schools; the private schools themselves ranging from the "Colegio de piso", schools set up in flats of a more or less pirate nature, to well appointed, expensive religious

order schools, such as the Jesuits for boys, or the Sacred Heart Convents for girls. It was obvious that the problem of State grants to private schools was going to become a political issue of major importance and solutions would have to be thought out, in order to bring as much of this sector into the public service of education as possible, by gradual means. On the other hand, the existing model of State school did not satisfy, in any way, the aspirations of the progressive teachers who were drawing up this alternative, so they wished to introduce aspects of social participation into the running of schools, through parents, teachers and pupils, as well as local Government, Neighbours' Associations, etc. and bring the school out of its isolation and relate it to its environment. This led to what became known as the "Escuela Pública", which finally became the name which identified all the many versions of the "Alternative".

It is evident that the White Paper and the 1970 Education Act provoked a vast social reaction and the criticisms published, both legally and clandestinely, in themselves created the necessity to produce alternative solutions. Among the most significant of these publications were those which represented the opinions of considerable numbers of teachers or other groups concerned with education.

Recently, the 31st January 1989, the present Minister of Education, Javier Solana, decorated with the "Great Cross of the Civil Order of Alfonso X, the Wise" an important honour for academic or cultural services, six persons representing the Teachers' Movement's "Alternative". (27) In the vote of thanks, Luis Gomez Llorente explained the "Alternative" and how it had emerged: "In the seventies, when in Spain, under a very different Regime, an Education Act was being applied and we were then young teachers, from many different parts of the country, although with different nuances, we felt a common preoccupation; to study that project. Its critical analysis, illuminated not only by theory, but also, by contrasting it with our teaching praxis, led into this type of creative confrontation which opposes immediate reality to the idea, or if you prefer, degraded reality to a transforming reality configured by the mind as ideal.

That project of transformation of the school, denominated generically public school (as opposed to State), was expressed in many documents, articles, books, lectures, debates, assemblies, strikes, demonstrations, dismissals, court trials and actions of solidarity. In short, it was expressed in the very lives of innumerable teachers, as an illusion and as a task.

An effort was made by all to apply with prudence to the

reality of our peoples, to their needs and deficiencies, the classic ideas of the formation of man, as well as the ideas closest to our institutionalists, and, on the other hand, to the socialist pedagogic line reflected in the best moments of the republican era." (28)

In 1970, the already quoted "La Enseñanza en España", published by the Communist Party in Paris, was the result of collective discussion among militants and their friends, all of whom obviously had to remain anonymous. Although it was not published until after the Education Act, as the actual collecting of material and the writing of the final draft were extremely laborious owing to the conditions of clandestinity, consequently the main body of work really dates from 1968 and 1969. The criticism based on facts and figures was, in fact, prior to the publication of the White Paper, and the brief alternative which occupies the last chapter, made only superficial reference to the Education Act. Its emphasis is on the necessity for a real cultural revolution, since a reform would not be sufficient, and the need to create organs of participation which would make this possible. The solution is based on the State School, (permitting the existence of private schools but without State grants), whose characteristics would be: ideological pluralism, coeducation, compulsory until 16, with a basic education common to all, education in the various languages

of the State, single bodies of teachers with equal labour and professional conditions, according to levels of education, (this did not concur with the "Cuerpo Unico" generally proposed and caused dissatisfaction among many Communist militants), a single Union related to all other Trade Unions, a total change in the teacher-pupil relationship, based on a respect for the latter's rights and participation in the education process, educational content in accordance with the aims stated as: preparation for life both in general as well as for work, profound vision of the world and a progressive interpretation of humanity's history.

In June, 1974, the National Council of "Colegios de Licenciados", passed a resolution which represented a systematic criticism of the Education Act and its consequences, ending up with a demand for democratic freedoms and enumerating certain professional demands.(29) This valiant document, the result of democratic candidatures having won the elections in various provincial "Colegios", caused great impact, coming as it did from an established institution recognised officially. Within the various "Colegios", it created the opportunity to go more deeply into their alternative proposals. "The "Alternative" arose simultaneously in three places, Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia, although I think that the one with most

repercussion was Madrid's because it received more attention from the media.....I consider that there was very good work, for some years there was an initial, previous work. At the start I remember that Teachers' Commissions and the Communists in Madrid wanted to pass the document already in the Assembly of 1975. I remember that the Socialists opposed this because we thought that it was a document which was too completed and so we spent the whole of 1975 discussing counter proposals; there was a synthesis and in this way we achieved a more serious and integrating "Alternative" than the first one we had drawn up." (30)

In the "Colegio" of Madrid, at the Annual Assembly in January 1975, a "green" paper was presented, (it became known as this because it was printed in green), "An Alternative for Education: Bases for Discussion"(31), which echoed the criticism of the Education Act and proposed an alternative. It was agreed to accept this as a working document to be discussed. Police repression was a constant element in this discussion and at the end of January, the police interrupted a meeting and attempted to search the building without a warrant. There were some arrests.

The main points of the "Green Document" were: Education as a Public Service, (those private schools receiving grants would gradually be absorbed into the public system and until

then controlled); free education; rational, scientific content; teaching of and through the languages and cultures of the different "nationalities" in the Spanish State; "Ciclo Unico", one curriculum for all; "Cuerpo Unico", one body of teachers; a single Teachers' Union; democratic management of schools; democratic liberties for all.

Another document called "Socialization, another alternative for education"(32), was presented by a group of teachers, mainly progressive Catholics, which laid greater emphasis on democratic management and decentralization and proposed freedom for Unions, while the unification of such Unions was presented as a goal to be achieved.

A document of synthesis was produced after long discussion in December 1975 and sent to all members of the "Colegio"(33). On the 31st January of 1976, this was presented at a massively attended Annual Assembly, (the attendance was calculated as 1,400 members), along with a series of amendements which were passed. The document, still retaining its original title of "Basis for discussion", as it was considered to be the beginning of a Public Debate, contained the following main points:

Education as a Public Service; Democratic, decentralised planning and management of schools with parents' participation; Grants for private schools to be gradually

abolished and such schools to be absorbed into the public system (while the grants exist no profits or ideological control permitted in these schools); "Ciclo Unico" free and compulsory from the age of 6 to 16; Unified School, eliminating class discriminations, providing a scientific vision of the world;; dynamic formation of pupils in relation to their environment and with the participation of local organizations and entities; development of pupils' critical spirit, preparation for a pluralist society, multilateral development of each individual's possible capacities and the elimination of sexist discrimination; "Cuerpo Unico", Single body of teachers; rational system of access of teachers to schools; One Union for Teachers, created in a climate of Union freedom; democratic freedoms for all.

This document summed up the difficult experience of underground struggle and repression and so was imbued with a desire for liberty and guarantees that such liberty and the democratic functioning of schools form part of their educational alternative. A dynamic relationship with parents and the different elements, both institutional and social of the school's environment, grew from their experiences of a positive support from parents, workers' and students' movements in times of tension and struggle. A future participation of democratic institutions could only

represent an intuition of ideal conditions, in contrast with the day to day indifference or active hostility and controls which they received from such institutions under the Regime. In relation to the content of schools, greatest emphasis was laid on an egalitarian system which was to guarantee real educational opportunities to all pupils. This arose out of their knowledge and experience of the immense injustice and contrasting conditions of the education system as it existed under the Regime.

The uproar which followed the passing of this historic document was, of course, considerable. "Its publication provoked a social-political debate on national level, of similar dimensions to the debate which arose out of the publication of Vilar Palesi's technocratic alternative, the White Paper. Its frontal attack on national-pedagogy (referring to Franquist educational policy), its bitter criticism of the ...technocratic (Education Act) and its ideological connections, characterized it as an authentic political alternative of europedagogy." (34)

It was attacked in the press as "marxist" and declared to represent the negation of parents' freedom to choose where and how their child would be educated. At exactly the same time as the "Colegio's" Annual Assembly was taking place, a small group of teachers, all of them members of the

"Colegio", met in the State Vertical Union and drew up a document (35) denouncing the "Colegio's" proposal and offering another based on the respect for parents' right to choose schools, the necessity to subsidize private schools and the right to an ideological option in schools. This document was promoted by the "FERE", organization of religious order schools, which continued to produce criticisms, documents, etc. against the positions represented by the "Alternative". The "FERE" later on produced their own statement in defence of their schools. In the same manner, the Catholic Federation of Parents, presented opinions almost identical to those expressed by the "FERE". In Barcelona a document "Christians on the School question" defended the private, confessional school which it opposed to the "Escuela Pública" (36).

The Bishops produced a carefully worded document in September 1976, defending the right to religious instruction in schools and to religious order schools, but apparently proposing a peaceful agreement and showing a lack of belligerence. The Dean of the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid, Eloy Terrón, stated in an interview in relation to the hierarchy's document: "I think that the Bishops' document on education is very important for all Catholics and non Catholics in this country, since it affects all baptized children, who are practically all (the population).

So as not to prolong my reply too much, I will not enter into an analysis of their document, which in any case we will do collectively in respect of those aspects which do not coincide with our "Alternative", nevertheless, I seem to notice in it a most laudable progress, if one is to consider the monopoly and hegemony which the religious organizations have exercised over secondary education in our country."

(37)

Obviously this statement was intended to encourage any possible olive branch that the hierarchy might be offering, in the hopes of avoiding open conflict between the Church and progressive forces over education, hitherto an inevitable element in Spain's political scene.

Another declaration from some Bishops, published in the Oviedo Diocesan Bulletin later in 1976, was less diplomatic and more open in its attack on the "Escuela Pública" and its defence of parents' right to freedom of choice of schools. They reject the term "private" as applied to religious order schools, which they maintain represent a public service, independently of whether or not they charge fees. The Bishops of Valladolid and of Lerida made public statements of a similar nature in the summer of 1976.

In this way the Church continued to fight in order to maintain its influence in education and, foreseeing a

democratic future, began to oppose the concept of a pluralist, open public system, as contrary to what they termed "real" freedom, that is freedom to choose a confessional centre for one's children's education. The degree of hypocrisy which this viewpoint entailed, considering the lamentable situations in education, which they had ignored for the past forty years, was quickly attacked by teachers, but it was significant as an outward expression of what was to become the conservative Church's position which up to now, they had not needed to make clear, as their hegemony had been unquestioned and support from the Regime in this field, total.

During all this period, more and more versions of the "Alternative" appeared. We will quote those which achieved most resonance. In Valencia the "Colegio de Licenciados" presented a document "An Alternative for Education in Valencia" in May 1975. This followed a process of discussion and was then published, in book form, "Por una Reforma Democrática de la Enseñanza" by the "Seminario de Pedagogía del Colegio de Licenciados de Valencia" in 1975. This book presented a theoretical discussion on the role of the school in a democratic society, taking into account Spain's recent history, the social and economic changes and especially, the new distribution of the working population. There is a whole chapter devoted to pedagogic theses which

are presented within the context of social reality and mainly concerned with the concept of intelligence and personality as dynamic factors in the child's development. Their alternative insists with greater emphasis on the importance of the pre-school stage and its educational and not merely social necessity. Methodology, group work, active child centered learning and democratic and civic training are other aspects of the pedagogic theses.

In February 1975, another document "For a New University in a democratic society" was presented by a group of University Professors of Bellaterra, Barcelona(38). The University professors wished to associate their proposals with the democratic proposals of teachers of the schooling system and present a complete programme of educational reform.

Among other documents which appeared at this time were The "Manifesto of Gallegan Teachers"(39) in March 1976 which emphasized the linguistic and cultural problems inherent in education in that nationality. The study group Paul Lafarge produced "To democratize the school is to place it at the workers' service" in July 1976 which was a radical defence of a public school system imbued with popular culture. The Xth Summer School in 1975 and XIth Summer School in 1976, of Barcelona produced the document "For a new Catalan Public School", already mentioned. This document went into the

relationship of the school with its environment in greater depth, as well as studying the linguistic and cultural problems specific to the Catalan situation. In May, 1975, the Assembly of Teachers in the Canary Islands produced the document, "Canary Islands - proposal of a democratic alternative for education". This document was in line with the proposals of Madrid's "Colegio" although it adopted a more radical attitude towards private schools. In general, in larger cities, especially Madrid and Sevilla, where private schools were numerically very significant, there was a greater comprehension of what in the future would become an enormous and complex problem, namely how to deal with this large private sector, its teachers and pupils. At the same time, experiences of progressive private schools, cooperatives created by parents or teachers, schools linked to the national linguistic and cultural movements and schools run by progressive nuns or priests opened up perspectives of what could be an enriching of the future Public School by permitting such schools to be incorporated into the system. The emphasis was on decentralisation and the incorporation of social elements into the school, thus combatting the arid, bureaucratic reality of the existing State system which could not be taken as a model. All this was reflected in the version of the Alternative produced in these areas.

The "IV Congress on Training" organised by various Professional "Colegios", including of course, the "Colegio de Licenciados", of Barcelona produced the document "Bases for educational reform" in November 1975 (40). In this document greater attention was paid to vocational training and the relationship between the school system and the world of work. They showed a great consciousness of the increasing demands which the school system must meet in a modern society.

"ACIES" the Freneit group in their II Congress produced the document "Democratic structure of Schools" in July 1976. The Summer School of Andalucia produced a document of "Ciclo Unico, Cuerpo Unico, Participación de padres en la Enseñanza" in July 1976. Both these documents, fruit of collective discussions all through the year which were finally ratified in their Summer Schools, paid special attention to school organization and the democratically conceived participation of parents, pupils and teachers in the running of the school. This was a reflexion of the struggle to break down schools' isolation from society and it was also felt that this was the only way to guarantee genuine, democratic, educational practice and a release from their authoritarian experience under franquism.

The Communist Party in Cataluña, PSUC, had produced,

clandestinely of course, a document in 1973 intended as a first draft (41) "which was to serve as a starting point for a more profound collective research" as the introduction to the final document, produced in the summer of 1975, which was, "Per un ensenyament democràtic", by the Teachers of PSUC (42). In spite of this being a clandestinely published document, it received very wide distribution among teachers all over Spain. The Spanish Communist Party, before its legalization, published, legally in Madrid, "Anteproyecto de Alternativa Democrática a la Enseñanza" in 1977, which represented the final draft of a collectively discussed document initiated in 1972. Both these documents contained the essential aspects of the "Alternative", "Cuerpo Unico", "Ciclo Unico", and "Escuela Pública" and it is perhaps in the latter in which the concept of the new public school emerging out of the two existing types of schools, State and private, to form an entirely new type of school, democratically run in a pluralist, tolerant atmosphere, was most clearly defined. In the Catalan document the analysis of the cultural problems of Cataluña and the school's role in society formed an important contribution.

Further publications in which members of the teachers' movement, Teachers' Commissions and the Communist and Socialist Parties collaborated were "La enseñanza ante un futuro democrático" by F.Martinez Pereda, P.O'Malley and

P.Portela, 1977, "La Enseñanza en España" by V.Bozal, L. Paramio, . Alvarez, M.Perez and M.Perez Galan, 1975, "La Enseñanza a lo claro" 1977, a monographic number of the Review "Documentación Social" N. 23 "La Educación en crisis" 1976.

The ultra left also published pamphlets on their alternatives, which were more radicalized, especially in relation to private schools, which they considered should be abolished or nationalized. In Cataluña, PTE, the Workers' Party, produced "Por una Nueva Escuela Pública: Catalan, Científica y Democrática" (43), in 1976, M.C., Communist Movement, published their contribution to the Barcelona Summer School, "Por una Nueva Escuela Pública" in 1976 (44), and the "Liga Comunista", trotskyists, produced "Por Una Alternativa a la Enseñanza, Por la Escuela Pública" in 1976 (45).

The processes which preceded the publication of all these various documents, were, as we have tried to show throughout this work, complex and difficult, implying personal costs, arrests, sanctions, dismissals and danger for the teachers involved, as well as the continual frustration produced by the suspension of meetings, cultural activities, closing of institutions, severe censorship and so on. The lives of these teacher activists were lived in continual tension and

the advances made in the achievement of political aspirations despairingly slow, although the accumulation of strength and numbers which the documents themselves represent, was an important achievement. It is remarkable that under such repressive conditions, teachers were able to develop a full educational programme and thus demonstrate their confidence in the future and a considerable sense of political responsibility.

What was common to all these expressions of the "Alternative" was their total denouncing of the Franco Regime and their impatience to reach a democratic situation which would permit a genuine debate on education and open up the possibility of the realization of their proposals. "Our pretension was to educate for freedom from (a state of) freedom. The Teachers' Movement, in this way, took upon itself the task of creating an explicit design of what, one day, would mean freedom in schools, and they did it with passion, perhaps because they did it from the lack of freedom and with a forthright desire for emancipation" (46)

Conclusion

In this chapter the importance and influence of Teachers' pedagogic movement is analysed and it is shown that it made a real contribution towards the spreading of the Teachers'

Movement's proposals in educational policy and, at the same time, their enrichment, especially in pedagogic questions, in introducing the feminine question and with regard to the role of parents in the school. The greater variety in ideological positions in these pedagogic groups has also been shown and their capacity to reconnect with pedagogic and political positions of the past.

In relation to the parents' movement, its popular spontaneous origins have been demonstrated and the role played by the Teachers' Movement in general in helping to develop this movement. It is also shown how, following the traditions of the general anti Regime struggle, they created their own legal platforms and commenced to function in education. Their markedly combative nature, resulting from their origins, is examined and the difficulties it presented in relation to collaborating with teachers in schools.

Finally there is an analysis of the "Alternative" in which the various published versions of it are also mentioned as well as the important social impact it had. The relation between the accumulated experience of the teachers' movement over a period of years, stimulated by the passing of the 1970 Education Act, and the formulation of an alternative educational policy proposal is made explicit in this analysis. The reactions of the Church are studied, more

cautious from the hierarchy, more aggressively in opposition from the "FERE" and other institutions which supported their view point. The inevitable opposition, in Spain, between progressive forces and the Church in the field of education is seen to be once more taking place and as usual, to be heralding important political events, namely the Dictator's death, the end of the Fascist Regime and the coming of democracy through the process known as the Transition.

Notes

1. Diputaci3n de Barcelona, Escola d'Estiu 1914 - 1936, Barcelona, 1983. This was a facsimile edition of the original annual reports brought out by the County Council of Barcelona.
2. Rosa Sensat was a primary teacher, head mistress before the Civil War of the "Escola de Bosc de Montjuic" one of 11 municipal schools which existed in Barcelona and were renowned for their teaching practice and advanced pedagogic ideas. The Franco Regime did not dare to close them, such was their prestige, although of course all their teachers were purged. Rosa Sensat was esteemed as a

pedagogic expert and lectured and gave courses
in the first epoch of the Barcelona Summer
School.

3. "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" No. 9 September
1975. Barcelona. Page 39.
4. Marta Mata.
5. "Cuadernos de Padagogía" September, No. 9
1975 Barcelona. Equipo de Estudios Page 38.
6. Seminario de Pedagogía de Valencia. "Por
una Reforma Democrática de la Enseñanza"
Barcelona 1975. Page 7.
7. "Cuadernos de Padagogía" No. 4, Barcelona,
April, 1975. Rafael Chacón. Page 5.
8. Jesus Alonso Montero.
9. "Cuadernos de Pedagogía" No. 23 November 1976

Page 6.
- 10 Ibid. Page 18

11. Ibid. Page 18.
12. Cuadernos de Pedagogía" No 43/44. July/August 1978. Barcelona. Seminari d'Historia de l'Ensenyament. Page 31.
13. See Appendix B.
14. Author's archives.
15. By this time, teachers had achieved the electing of head teachers. Three candidates were proposed by the teaching staff to the Ministry who then appointed one of them. This was, in this case, Angel Diaz Zamorano.
16. Min. Educación, La Enseñanza en España; Bases por una Política Educativa, Page 243.
17. Author's archives.
18. Ibid.
19. Club de Amigos de la UNESCO. Comisión de Educación. "Informe de Asociación de Padres

de Alumnos". Madrid. 1971 or 1972.

20. Ibid.
21. Author's archives.
22. Ibid.
23. "Octubre" May. 1973. A clandestine publication of the Communist Party.
24. The incentive allowance was a quantity which the Ministry started to pay primary teachers in lieu of the gradual increase of their coefficient from 2.9 up to 3.6. This allowance was supposed to last for a few months, but had already existed for 3 years and had not been raised proportionally.
25. "Vanguardia" a daily Barcelona newspaper. 3rd of February 1973.
26. Author's archives.
27. Luis Gomez Llorente a Socialist teacher, Marta Mata i Garriga, President of Rosa Sensat,

Socialist M.P., Mariano Perez Galán, Socialist teacher, consultant on education to the Presidency of the Government, Eloy Terrón Abad, former Dean of the Madrid "Colegio" and President of the National Council of "Colegios", Julia Vigre, state primary teacher, imprisoned and purged after the Civil War, Eulalia Vintró, former Dean of Barcelona "Colegio", Communist M.P. and councillor of Barcelona City Hall.

28. "T.E." review of the Teachers Federation of CC.OO. No. 101. Madrid. March 1989. Luis Gomez Llorente. Page 22.
29. Author's archives.
30. Mariano Perez Galan.
31. Author's archives.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ruiz Olabuenaga et al, Enseñanza, Elecciones Políticas y Futuro Educativo, Madrid, Narcea S.A.,

1977, Page 83.

35. Author's archives.
36. Ibid.
37. "Estudiante Católico" 1976, Enseñanza: Debate Público - Juventud.
38. Author's archives.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. "T.E." No. 101 March 1989. Luis Gomez Llorente

Appendix A

The following are translations of clandestine pamphlets published by Teachers' Commissions of Madrid. The documents are usually not dated, so an approximate date will be given.

This first document was not signed by Teachers' Commissions slogans, as it came from the provincial representatives, members of Teachers' Commissions, in the Vertical State Union and as a result, as legal as possible an air was given to the document.

"REPORT ON THE WAGE AGREEMENT FOR TEACHERS.

In view of the lack of information which teachers suffer in relation to the progress of negotiations of the Provincial Wage Agreement and to the real causes which have produced the present paralysis, those of us who are informed of the whole process feel it our duty to report to our colleagues in a detailed manner:

1967. - In January an Assembly of Secondary teachers drew up a rough draft of a Wage Agreement in the Education Seminar, (CEISA, Calle Jorge Juan 32).

- In February a similar draft was drawn up by Primary teachers in the same Seminar.

- In March and April, the Provincial State Vertical Union of Teachers accepted these drafts which had been drawn up by rank and file teachers and presented by representatives of the teachers within the State Vertical Union.

- In October, 18 representatives presented a written complaint to the President of the Employees' Section of the State Union due to the lenthitude of the proceedings.

- On the 28th November, 400 teachers signed a document in which a request was made for Union premises to be made available for a meeting, in which an immediate commencement of the negotiations was to be demanded.

1968. - On the 25th March, a commission of teachers presented a document with a thousand signatures to the President of the National Vertical State Union for Teachers in which, among other matters, both Primary and Secondary teachers protest against the salary freeze and the paralysis of the Agreement negotiations.

- On the 2nd May, after 11 months delay, the teachers' representatives protest at the fact that they have had to wait for so long for a meeting, which has created an anomolous situation, and demand that they be called to a meeting at least once a month. This petition was expressed unanimously. (In spite of the fact that this latter petition was passed and written into the Minutes, it has not been fulfilled).

- On the 12th June, once more a commission of teachers presented a document from 42 schools with 500 teachers' signatures, demanding meetings in the State Union and the urgent commencement of negotiations.

- On the 8th July, a deliberating commission for the Agreement was set up and the teachers' draft proposal was presented to the School owners. (Teachers' official representatives have still not been called to a meeting)

- On the 22nd July, a second meeting of the deliberating commission was held and the owners presented delaying tactics, impeding the conversations on the Agreement.

- On the 24th September, a new meeting was held at which the School owners' representatives did not appear.

- On the 26th September, the School owners presented a document, in which, interpreting to their own advantage the Decree of the 10th August 1968, they refused to negotiate until January 1969, once more displaying their evident bad faith as to entering into any sort of negotiations.

- On the 9th October, the Teachers' representatives at Provincial level were informed of the total paralization of the Agreement discussions. The State Vertical Union has still not informed teachers in general of all this process, nor have teachers' representatives at School level been called to any meeting.

These events which we have briefly explained can only be understood in connection with the reality which has given rise to their existence:

a) The negative attitude of School owners, only concerned with delaying negotiations.

b) The endemic lack of democratic practice of the Employees' Section of the State Vertical Union which, separated from its base, has once more shown its incapacity for forcing the School owners to negotiate.

This real incapacity would have been overcome if attention

had been paid to the above mentioned documents which represented the opinions and mood of teachers.

As a consequence, we teachers cannot remain inactive but must increase our participation in the struggle for a positive transformation of our work conditions."

Madrid, November 1968.

(After this the illegal Assembly of teachers held in order to inform them of the stagnation of the Wage Agreement process, was held in the Convent of Irish nuns, which was interrupted by the police, as has already been explained.)

"TEACHERS

Both primary and secondary teachers make up a total of 186,333 and are organized in pyramid fashion. Beginning with a wide base of primary teachers, 113,515 who represent 52.2% of the total, it continues with secondary teachers, 33,419, 23% of the total. This is a very broad view, as teachers are really divided up into multiple divisions which respond to a

double motive: on the one hand private capital's interest, the private school sector, and on the other the State's interest in maintaining class orientated divisions within the State system which propitiate disunion among teachers and reduce the costs of education. The situation is easily understood from the diagram which is shown at the end.

I. What do these teachers earn?

We shall begin with the large base of the pyramid. State Primary Teachers (57%) earn a coefficient of 2.9, that is to say they earn 7,000 Pts. a month, for 5 hours daily class, plus 800 Pts. as an allowance, which the non numerary teachers ("Interinos") do not receive.

Primary Teachers in the private sector (19.8%) are divided into 4 categories, according to the number of pupils in the School (although exactly the same teaching takes place) and their salaries go from 3,740 Pts. to 4,800 Pts. a month, for 6 hours of class a day, plus a 20% increase arising from the "Covenio", Salary Agreement, for this academic year.

In Secondary education, the teachers in the private sector (17.7%), which also includes teachers in "Filiales", semi State, semi private schools, which represent

approximately 4% more, receive a salary for 6 hours class a day, which is divided into 5 categories, according to the number of pupils in the school, which goes from 5,800 Pts to 8,820 Pts. a month, plus 20% increase in this year's "Convenio".

The "Agregados", State Secondary teachers (1.5%), have a coefficient 4 which represents, including all allowances, without extra hours, about 11,000 Pts. for 3 hours class a day.

"Catedráticos", State Secondary teachers of a higher status, (1%) have a coefficient of 4.5 which represents, including allowances, without extra hours, about 13,000 Pts. for 3 hours class a day.

II. What labour defences have teachers?

Once more we encounter divisions, on the one hand, Primary and Secondary Private sector, and on the other, in isolated sections, State Primary teachers, "Agregados" and "Catedráticos" of the State Secondary Schools.

The State Primary Teachers have only one channel, the "SEM" (State controlled Association) or "Servicio

Español de Magisterio", which is not a trade union and whose President, Chiefs and national, provincial and local councils are named, not elected. As an instrument for representing claims, it is useless.

The Primary and Secondary teachers of the Private sector are incorporated in the State Vertical Union of Teachers, one more of the vertical unions to which all salaried workers belong.

The non numerary, contracted, teachers in Secondary Schools have no form of Association and no security of tenure in their jobs.

The "agregados" and "catedráticos" of the State Secondary Schools have their respective Associations which, compared with the "SEM", are much more democratic.

III. For a single body of teachers and for a single, representative Trade Union!

It is clear that we must struggle to put an end to these artificial, class orientated divisions which impede our unity and weaken our strength.

This struggle for unity which must be present in all

our claims, whether partial or of the whole sector, will make us understand our own strength and help to raise up teachers who, up to now, have been on their knees. Our perspective includes the State taking over education and the creation of one Trade Union for teachers, free and linked to a Trades Council of all workers.

We must not lose sight of these perspectives, but in order to reach them, the concrete, practical, daily struggle based on the problems and claims of teachers in schools, is the only way. In the course of the struggle in the State Union and in the Associations, through the clashes which ensue, teachers will come to understand the contradiction of these structures.

IV. Convergence with other sectors.

The teachers' struggle coincides with that of the working class. Our economic claims, salary problems, wage agreements, social security, etc. all coincide with those of other workers. We also share political demands, such as the struggle for the right to hold meetings, to free expression and free Trade Unions. Our struggle forms part of the general awakening which is taking place among the forces of culture.

With regard to education, our function unites us to the rest of the population whose children pass through our hands. However as long as teachers' conditions - salaries, timetables, insecurity - remain as they are, the quality of education which the country needs cannot be achieved. Our country requires an education system which is not just the expression of minority interests, but one which responds to those of the broad masses.

FOR A UNIFIED EDUCATION WITH A SINGLE BODY OF
TEACHERS!

FOR A SINGLE REPRESENTATIVE TEACHERS' UNION!"

Madrid 1969.

"WHAT EVERY TEACHER IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR SHOULD
KNOW.

Dear Colleague,

Present day legislation and our Working Conditions Regulation, although they are not representative, nor do they really defend our interests since they are at the service of capital, nevertheless represent minimum victories which we have achieved, which no teacher should be ignorant of and which should be taken advantage of to the maximum as a starting point for our struggle.

You must know your rights and demand that they be exercised. There are two levels, one in the school as a private firm (Ministry of Labour and State Vertical Union of Teachers) and the other as Education, properly speaking, (Ministry of Education).

You should know the "Work Regulation for Teachers in the Private Sector". It is very meagre, but it is a minimum starting point. You may be as "intellectual" as you like but never forget that you are a salaried worker. Whoever neglects to fight for what is his in his work, damages himself and everybody else and, ultimately, loses his own dignity.

Say whatever you like when you are looking for work, but as soon as you have finished the trial period of 4 months, ("Work Regulation for Teachers in the Private

Sector", Article 13, Page 22) demand the following:

- That you receive Social Security and a written contract. You should have one of the four copies of the contract in your possession. (Art. 14 Page 23).

- If you are married, have children, make sure that you receive your points. Work Conditions Act, of a higher rank than any Regulation.

- That you be paid at least the minimum stipulated by Law, unless in your particular school, teachers have managed to receive more, in which case, that salary level is the legally approved one, plus the increase of 20% arising from the Agreement (18th June 1969).

Monthly payment for a full Teaching day.

Primary

Category	Up to	Up to	Up to	Increase
	200	300	350	every 3
	pupils	pupils	pupils	years`
				service
Teacher	3,700 Pts.	4,130 Pts.	4,720 Pts.	10 of 800
				Pts.
Assistant	3,200 Pts.	3,570 Pts.	3,800 Pts.	10 of 540
				Pts.

Secondary	Monthly payment for an hour a day			
Category	Up to	Up to	Up to	Over
Increase				

	100	150	250	250	every 3
	pupils	pupils	pupils	pupils	years`
Teacher	950 Pts.	1,050 Pts.	1,250 Pts.	1,350 Pts.	10 of
					50
Pts.					

Assistant	650 Pts.	780 Pts.	860 Pts.	900 Pts.	10 of
					35
Pts.					

- Make sure you are included in the Social Security.

A worker without Social Security is utterly defenceless (sickness, accidents, retirement pension). 3.9 is paid by the teacher and 12.1 by the School. The quota should be reduced at source. If a woman teacher is married, she not only has the right to continue in the School in the event of pregnancy, but also to 40 days paid leave of absence before the birth and 40 days afterwards. She should also demand to be given social security and not depend on her husband's.

- That the three extra payments, Christmas, 18th July and Profits be paid. This means that you should receive 15 salaries and you have a right to one month's paid holiday in summer. (Art. 46 Page 45). Do not accept the accumulation of these payments as it is not legal. If the School pays more than the Agreement or gives more holidays, then these

better conditions are binding for everyone.

- If there is a private Regulation for a particular School you must know that this is only valid if it has been ratified by the Ministry of Labour.

- You be given a written copy of your pay slip and do not sign anything without reading it carefully.

- In the case of dismissal, do not sign anything and demand your dismissal in writing. Then you have 15 days in which to appeal. You must take the following steps; a) Reconcilliation or not, in the State Vertical Union. b) Legal hearing in the Labour Court. You should go to a lawyer, if possible an expert in labour matters, although you have a right to free defence in the Vertical Union, but

- With the rest of your colleagues, that the Union Representative hold meetings in the School to discuss labour or economic problems as the Union Regulation stipulates. This Regulation foresees the following:

a) That the representatives can oblige Management to supply a Notice Board in which all employees can be informed of labour and Union matters.

b) That Management must supply a room for the Union Representatives.

In every School there should be representatives in accordance with the number of employees, whether or not they are in the Social Security, since it is Management's responsibility to see that they are.

From 6 to 25 employees..... 1 representative
From 26 to 50 employees 2 representatives
From 51 to 100 employees 3 representatives
From 101 to 250 employees 8 representatives
From 251 to 1,000 employees 16 representatives

If elections have not been held or there are not a sufficient number of representatives, get all the information in the State Union and demand them. "National State Union of Teachers. "What is the Teachers' Union?" Page 28.)

FOR A UNIFIED EDUCATION WITH A SINGLE BODY OF
TEACHERS!

FOR ONE UNIFIED AND REPRESENTATIVE TEACHERS"
UNION!"

Madrid 1969.

This document was produced after the Teachers' movement's candidature was defeated in the elections for the "Colegio de Licenciados" in Madrid. This was not signed with Teachers' Commissions' slogans as it appeared to come from the losing candidates.

"WHO WON AND WHO LOST THE ELECTIONS?"

On Sunday the 18th May, elections were held in the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid.

There were two lists of candidates, one which represented the School owners' interests and one which represented ordinary teachers' interests.

The results were the following: 1,157 votes, which represented 20% of the total. The winning list, which was the result of a pact between three groups, obtained 11% of the total, which gave them the victory.

Who has won?

The winning list was voted for by all the "FERE", School owners and a few Directors of Studies and Higher Civil Servants from the Ministry of Education, and higher members of the Vertical Union and the National Council of

"Colegios". In general, people who neither know nor suffer the problems of salaried professionals.

Who lost the elections?

All teachers lost the elections. Those who are out of work, those who work an exhausting school day, those who receive the present day, miserable salaries, those who cannot raise their voices and suffer insults to their dignity in the Schools, those who are concerned about education for the reason, among many others, that they are involved in it.

Why did we lose the elections?

While the winning list reached almost the height of its possibilities, we scarcely reached a minimum part of our numerical possibilities (not counting those who were unable to vote due to the date of their becoming members, that is the last thousand to join). That means we lost because we didn't go to vote.

Why didn't we go to vote?

In the first place, because we are inclined to believe that the solutions to our problems fall from the sky, or the direct opposite, because we believe there is nothing to be

done.

We do not see the importance of the "Colegio", nor what it would mean as a platform around which we could gather and make our voices heard.

It is more comfortable not to bother to go to vote because you stay in bed or go to the country, all of which, alas, shows a great lack of conscience on our part.

What should we do?

1. In our Schools, demand that Management hold meetings of teachers, where pedagogic, professional and labour problems may be raised and discussed. Let the dignity of our profession be seen and the fact that we are not failed intellectuals nor vocational martyrs.
2. In the Vertical Union, bring all manner of pressure to bear in order that premises be made available to us and our Wage Agreement be passed.
3. In the "Colegio de Licenciados", force the new Governing Committee to keep the promises which they so "generously" made during the elections.

Note.: News has reached us through the Press, that a new Working Regulation for Teachers is being prepared behind our backs, which will be even worse, if that is possible, than the present one; for example, the trial period of four

months will become an entire academic year. We cannot remain passive in the face of this new attack on our profession."

Madrid, May 1969.

UNION ELECTIONS

From the 3rd of May on, we can enter the first stage of the Union elections. It is very true that the present State Vertical Union is not what we want. It does not respond and has never responded to workers' just interests. We teachers are included in it and so it is to this Union that we are obliged to go in order to resolve the many problems which arise out of our condition as salaried workers. For this reason we must attempt to win the Union posts in the Employees' Section so as to force the School owners, the Union bosses, the Regime in a word, to hear our voices and our claims.

Everybody knows that, in practice, in many Schools not even the few rights we have won up to now, are respected: social

security, work contracts, 15 salaries a year, the month's paid holiday, compensation pay for dismissals, payment for Saturdays, etc. etc. And we should all enter the struggle, not only to guarantee these rights, but to achieve a dignified labour and professional situation. To have Union representatives who truly represent us, who have been chosen by us and whose activities we support firmly will signify, in the first place, the fulfilment of all the rights we have won so far and will open up ways to more ambitious aims which have been the central point of our most recent actions.

What have we achieved up to now in the Union?

In spite of the limitations of the Vertical Union and of our having very few representatives chosen by ourselves, we managed to impose the last Wage Agreement and enforce its discussion, breaking the 5.9 ceiling and achieving a 20% rise. At present, after denouncing the last Agreement, we have managed to start off the discussion of a new Agreement, which has also been drawn up by us in the schools (backed up by a thousand signatures) and owing to our pressure, we have prevented the School owners from submitting us to their arbitration, even though they have broken off the negotiations.

If we now throw ourselves into the struggle in each and every one of the schools to get our representatives, our claims will gather the strength which arises from unified actions with spokesmen who know how to present them.

It is true that we are not going to be able to reach the highest posts, since the new Law continues to be as anti democratic as its predecessor, but if we manage to fill the Employees' Section, we will be able to advance our struggle.

Using all the possibilities which it offers, we can force the exercise of our rights which they try to deny us; hold meetings in the Union premises, really keep our colleagues informed, discuss our problems so as to reach collective solutions and embark on important actions such as strikes. By these steps and the daily struggle in our schools, in the Union and in the Ministry, we can advance towards the achievement of our claims and our Union which will be really democratic.

What do we want to achieve?

- real representatives in every school.
- that the Agreement with all its petitions be signed at once.
- an end of the artificial and unjust divisions

among teachers (primary/secondary/teacher/assistant/School categories which affect salaries)

- a defence of our right to work and an end to dismissals of our colleagues in schools.

- the daily struggle for a Single Teachers' Body, synthesis of our labour and professional problems, which will allow us to achieve a higher quality in our teaching, which will really become available for all; this is the conclusion to which we have come after years of discussion, study and struggle.

How do we carry out these elections?

In every school where the representative has not carried out his duties, he should be obliged by every possible means to resign.

What representatives should we elect?

- in those schools where there is more than one representative, half are to be elected.

- in schools where there is only one representative, lots will be drawn, so that half of this number of representatives are elected. (This drawing of lots will take place on the 30th). We must insist that elections be held in all schools.

- in any school where there is no representative, or there are not the correct number in correspondence with the number of employees (all the personnel, not just teachers), elections will be held.

- number of representatives corresponding to number of employees:

from 6 to 25.....1 representative

from 26 to 50.....2 representatives

from 51 to 100.....3 representatives

With 50 employees a committee should be formed.

- between the 3rd and the 8th, proposals of candidates must be presented. In order to do this, if you have not received the documentation in your school, you should ask for it in the Provincial Teachers' Union, (Gran Via 64, 6th floor, right). The candidates must be proposed by three electors in their school.

- from the 10th to the 15th May, the lists of candidates will be drawn up. The elections will be held from the 17th to the 22nd.

How should we prepare the elections?

We should hold meetings and assemblies in all schools to discuss our problems and discover and vote for the persons who will best represent and defend us. Our struggle to

improve our working conditions and the quality of our teaching must be participated in by all of us.

FOR A SINGLE BODY OF TEACHERS!

FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC UNION!

Teachers' Commissions.

Madrid, April 1971."

DEMAGOGY AND CHAOS IN EDUCATION

The Education Act continues to be up to its tricks! The greatly announced commencement of the School Year on 15th September with free places for all children has ended up as a simple publicity slogan.

School began on that day only in State Primary Schools; private schools have been joining in little by little, according to each Management's decision; nobody knows yet

when Secondary State Schools will open and "COU", (6th Form) is the great mystery.

The great campaign of school places for all has been no more than a scandalous deception. THERE ARE NO NEW PLACES IN STATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS; children are still in the street or crowded into classrooms in the worst possible conditions with no possibility of being adequately attended to.

Paradoxically, unemployment is on the increase among teachers of all types. The majority of those recently left the Training Colleges and Universities cannot find work. Those of us who are already teaching find our hours being reduced and in other cases we are dismissed, on account of the introduction of "EGB" and "COU". The bosses take advantage of the confusion produced by the total lack of planning and realism on the part of the Ministry of Education and because of the absence of control and coordination on the part of the competent organisms (Union, Labour Ministry, Ministry of Education, etc.), to reduce costs in education, at the same time as they raise pupils' fees.

Let's make it clear once and for all! Who benefits by substituting gradutes for primary teachers? The school owners; they try to pay the primary teacher with the

miserable basic salary of Primary, when at least the Secondary salary is what corresponds. They try to cover up this economic manoeuvre by confronting primary and secondary teachers, and, incidentally, they think that in this way they will weaken our struggle.

We must not fall into this trap! Our position is clear:

- All children must be provided with school places.

- There cannot be more than 40 children in a class.

(If we achieve this, it will avoid unemployment, there will be education for all and it will be possible to attend our pupils in a better way)

- In the case of partial or total dismissals, we must support the dismissed colleague, trying to prevent it. If we cannot, we must make them pay dearly for our dismissals, demanding our rights in the State Union and the Labour Court.

- Primary teachers must fight for the same salary as graduates.

- With regard to the fifth year of EGB and the introduction of the 2nd Cycle, we must defend work stability in the first place, by seeing to it that its implantation does not produce dismissals.

- In the second place, we must impose the principle of equal work, equal pay, suppressing the intolerable basic Primary salary and unifying all teachers' salaries, starting

out from a minimum which should be the highest category in
Secondary (2,150 pts. an hour a day per month).

AGAINST DISMISSALS! NOT ONE PUPIL OVER FORTY IN CLASS! FOR
UNIFIED SALARIES!

FOR A SINGLE BODY OF TEACHERS!

TEACHERS' COMMISSIONS.

Madrid, October 1971."

"TO STATE PRIMARY TEACHERS!

Colleagues,

A series of protests from primary have repeatedly appeared
throughout the last few months which give voice to the
discontent which arises from the numerous problems which we
suffer; these protests have culminated in the presentation
of a document in the Provincial Delegation.

First indifference and later threats and the presence of the

Police have been the only response to our just claims.

The problems, which are known to all, which we presented on that occasion, continue today without solution. In view of this situation WE DENOUNCE AND DEMAND:

1. To be recognised as teachers of "EGB" and to be paid NOW the proportional part of the 3.6 coefficient which we should have been receiving since last January 1972.
2. A rise of the coefficient from 3.6 to 4.5 and a periodical revision of our salaries. A just and dignified salary would avoid forcing parents and teachers into becoming accomplices in making teaching non free through the "permanencias" which also represent an anti educational prolonging of the school timetable.
3. A reduction in the discounts which our salaries suffer at present because of a Mutual Aid Society which is compulsory and inefficient.
4. Our integration in the Social Security system in view of the useless Mutual Aid Society.
5. The reduction of retiring age from 70 to a voluntary retirement at 60 and compulsory at 65, That full pensions be paid in either case, equal to the last month's salary received and without the abusive, maximum discounts which we have to endure.
6. Putting up to date our ridiculous housing allowance repeatedly demanded.

7. Efficient, continuous and remunerated training, by means of really formative courses, with our active participation in their preparation and realization.
8. Since the excessive number of pupils per class and lack of materials impede children from receiving an adequate education, we demand that this number should not exceed 28 (UNESCO's figure) and a reasonable supply of material.
9. In view of the million or more children without school places in our country, a figure which increases year by year in spite of the demagogic campaigns, we demand full schooling and an end to unemployment and sub employment of so many colleagues.
10. We demand that "EGB" be taught by either primary or secondary teachers, with the same salaries as the "BUP" contracted teachers.
11. We denounce the instability and insufficient salaries which contracted teachers, those useful standbys of the Ministry, have to suffer.
12. We denounce THE IRREGULARITY OF THE PAYMENT OF OUR SALARIES

We have been suffering some of these problems for some time, but it is a fact that the implementing of the Education Act has sharpened and increased them and that our pupils' situation has notably disimproved. Other sectors in Education also affected by this irresponsible Act have in

some way expressed their response. We who are so directly affected, cannot remain silent. Moreover these manoeuvres on the part of the Ministry to confront teachers over who will teach "EGB" force us to take a stand. WE DEMAND EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK and we refuse to be used as cheap labour.

OUR RESPONSE IN VIEW OF THIS SITUATION SHOULD BE THE UNION OF ALL PRIMARY TEACHERS. DISCUSS THIS DOCUMENT WITH YOUR COLLEAGUES.

FOR A SINGLE BODY OF ALL TEACHERS FOR A BETTER EDUCATION FOR ALL!"

This document was published in January 1973, just before the first big strike already described.

"GENERAL AMNESTY!"

The desire for amnesty is in everybody's spirit, and has already been expressed in concrete terms by Workers Commissions, the "Colegios de Licenciados" of Madrid and the Canary Islands, various organisms, publications and

documents, and recently by the National Congress of Lawyers in León.

Reprieve means pardon, but amnesty does not mean pardon, it means oblivion which makes it possible to start out afresh, which is what everybody wants as it is the only way to achieve a democratic future for our country.

Amnesty means:

1. A total liquidation of the repression and discrimination which has been dividing Spanish people as a result of the Civil War.

2. Immediate prescription of all political, social and labour "offences" which were committed since 1936 up to present times, as well as the reinstating of all workers who were purged as a result of the above mentioned "offences".

3. That human rights of be respected. It is time to end the exiles and imprisonments. It is time to think of the thousands of prisoners who for political, social and labour motives, fill our prisons, as a result of the Public Order Tribunal's convictions, or of Court Martials, are separated from their families and subjected to inhuman conditions in the various gaols. It is time now to finish with all this.

Along with all this, we must also put an end to the dismissals, fines and so many other forms of repression

which we Spaniards have to endure, among which the fact that we cannot enjoy the most elemental rights of man which are universally recognised, is not the least. Our right to expression and opinion is limited by the present Press Act of 9th April 1969. The right to political association has been suppressed by the same Organic Law of the State. The rights to labour association and strike are not only offences, but the cause of immediate and justified dismissal.

In our specific case as teachers, the Body of Primary Teachers is the one which stands out as, as a result of the War, it has suffered a global repression. Primary Teachers have been executed, imprisoned, forced into exile, removed from their professional practice to which even today, 30 years later, they have not been permitted to return as a block.

Among the many intellectuals who were forced into exile, a great number were teachers in the different levels.

For the past thirty years many teachers have been separated from their posts as a result of trying to make use of the right of expression in their schools, of trying to demand the right of association, of being able to create a truly representative Union or, simply, for expressing

economic claims, such as a just salary or affiliation to the Social Security.

To sum up, amnesty affects us all:

as Spaniards

as citizens

as workers

as teachers

Nowadays it is not sufficient to become aware of the necessity for amnesty, it is necessary to fight for it, it is absolutely essential to achieve amnesty today.

As teachers we have the obligation to explain to our colleagues the urgency of a general amnesty.

As citizens we cannot evade the activities which are proposed in order to achieve amnesty.

TEACHERS`

COMMISSIONS."

This pamphlet was written in 1970.

The following is a translation of the letter sent to the
"SEM" signed by various primary teachers.

"PROPOSAL OF REFORM OF 'SEM'S' STRUCTURES.

Declaration of principles.

The signees, primary teachers of Barcelona, wish to express:

That with the objective of creating a new vitality in "SEM"
and of making it truly representative, more efficient and in
consonance with the repeated manifestations and proposals
of the Minister, General Secretary of the Movement that
intermediate organs should have full representation;

In accordance with the "Universal Declaration of Human
Rights" (Professional Associations) (Art. 39)

Carrying out what was decreed in the Second Vatican Council
(Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the World today)

For all these reasons we say:

1. Our Association should be free and autonomous; only primary teachers themselves may structure and renew their own Association at any given moment.
2. Our Association must be independent of the Administration and of any minority group or sector which tries to monopolize it.
3. All posts, at whatever level, must be elected and movable. The members of the association will elect and vote freely, with total independence from the Administration. The Association's organs must be representative at every level.
4. Every voting will be carried out after the required and complete information, without permitting, in any case, personal or group coercion.
5. The resolutions will be taken by the majority of the members of the Association.
6. As a result of the fully representative character which we wish to give our Association, the teacher members may demand responsibilities and depose their representatives.

7. The Association should dispose of sufficient means so as to be able to express itself at all times and in a free manner.

8. In the "SEM's" restructuring, the circumstances and local, provincial and regional peculiarities must be taken into account in their national integration.

Taking into account the enormous problems of a pedagogic, social and economic order, such as the putting up to date of the housing allowance and the salary allowances, with which Primary Teachers are faced, we request that this restructuring which we are proposing, take place during the present school year so that in the following year, the problems to which we have referred, may be dealt with, as they affect the whole of society, with full representation and responsibility.

Barcelona, November 1966."

This informative note was sent by a group of teachers to all members of the "Colegio" of Madrid, demanding elections.

"INFORMATIVE NOTE

My dear colleague,

On the 29th January the ordinary Annual General Assembly of the "Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados en Filosofía y Letras y Ciencias" was held, of which we are members. In this meeting, the Committee's report on their activities of the past year was rejected. After a long debate, a vote was held which gave the following result, 122 votes in favour of the Committee's actions, 251 against and 5 blank votes.

During the Assembly we were informed that Miss Garrido Sellés and Mr. Hernandez Vista had resigned a few days before. A few days later, Mr. Gutiérrez Vazques, Mr. García Izquierdo and Mr. Andrés Mourais also presented their resignation. We have also been told that Mr. Casals has resigned. (In view of all this and taking into account the previous resignation of Mr. Julio Calonge, this Committee, at present lacks Dean, Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Librarian and two Deputies, which are the posts of those who have resigned).

In spite of this situation, some colleagues

are circulating a document around some schools, asking for teachers' support so that, in spite of the adverse vote in the Assembly, the remaining members of the Committee should not resign. (These are Reverend Fathers Moya and Martín Vergara,, the Misses Pilar Marín, Mercedes Arancibia, Rosario Gutiérrez and Mr. Jorro).

In the above mentioned document the attacks on the Committee which were made in the Assembly are described as unjust, and the speakers who expressed them as extremists. Under these circumstances we feel it is our right and duty to inform all our colleagues of the reasons for which we attacked this Committee and we ask for their resignation:

1. Total informative inefficiency. In 18 months they have only published three information bulletins, which go completely against their promises of ample information.

2. As a consequence of the above, and of the bureaucratic and hair splitting spirit which has inspired the activities of this Committee, graduates have not been mobilized, their collective problems have not been discussed, and the collectivity which we constitute has been left out of the solving of their own problems.

3. The Committee has refused the offer of some members to set up a review in which our problems would be dealt with and the abuses which are committed in certain schools publically denounced, etc. One such proposal received no answer whatsoever. The other was replied to in a negative manner the day before the Assembly.

4. The Vice Dean, who was acting Dean, suspended without any consultation with the Committee, the person in charge of the "Colegio's" Bulletin, because he had published some articles in the newspaper "Madrid", about professional questions, without previously submitting them to the Committee's approval. (Through these articles, as our only information source, we have come to know of many matters of great interest for us.)

5. The Committee has not taken advantage of the opportunity of the possibility of the "Colegio's" creating a "Filial", semi State, semi private Secondary school. The site was offered and nothing was done about it.

6. Because the full resignation of this Committee is the only legal way in which the crisis which arose with the ex-Dean, Mr. Calonge Ruiz's resignation, may be democratically resolved.

To be exact: Once the post of Dean or any other post or posts in the Committee become vacant, the Statutes foresee two possible solutions: 1) That the Ministry call for extraordinary elections (Article 26, a, paragraph 3) and 2) That the remaining members of the Committee propose to the National Council of "Colegios" that they name the other members who, in the last elections, presented themselves for the same post and obtained the most votes after the resigned member, in order to cover the said posts until the end of the period of office of the members who have resigned. (Article 25, paragraph 3)

The Ministry has resolved this question by the Order of the 9th November 1966, ordering that the provisions of Article 25 be put into effect, that is to say, in our specific case, that the members who remain in the present Committee, present Mr. Durán and other members of his candidature, who in their day were the defeated alternative in the last elections, to fill the vacant posts (more than half the Committee) and govern the "Colegio". In view of the Ministerial Order, there is no place for vain hypothesis. The only possibility which remains is to carry out the law firmly.

In our opinion the total resignation of the Committee is what should take place, in order that the National "Colegio"

may under its own responsibility, name the candidature which was defeated in the last elections (which we feel would not be viable because of the impopularity of such a decision, as was seen in the Assembly) or ask the Ministry to call new general elections to renew the Committee, in order to provide the "Colegio" with a new team supported by all, with a coherent programme which should be duly explained.

We ratify with this document what we declared publically in the Assembly, because up to now nobody has contradicted our points and because, especially, in a democratic association, majority decisions must be accepted and in the legally constituted Assembly, the majority voted against the Committee.

We ask for new elections of all the Committee.

Madrid, 4th March 1967.

Carmen Calvo Ruiz - Francisco Carmona Gonzalez - Jesús
Fomperosa Aparicio - Luis Gómex Llorente - José Luis
Lobato Garbia - Fernando Martinez Pereda - Jose Pedroche
Morales - Mariano Perez Galán - Manuel Ramallo Arroyo.

Appendix B.

List of all the Summer Schools published in 1981 indicating the year in which they began to function:

Aragon, functioned since 1976.
Asturias, functioned since 1976.
Canary Islands, functioned since 1977.
Castilla Leon, functioned since 1977.
Ciudad Real, La Mancha, functioned since 1978.
Cordoba, functioned since 1977.
Euskadi, functioned since 1976.
Bergara, Euskadi, functioned since 1978.
Extremadura, functioned since 1975,
Vigo, Galicia, functioned since 1978.
Orense, Galicia, functioned since 1976.
Murgardos, Galicia, functioned since 1979.
Concurbi6n, Galicia, functioned since 1980.
Granada, functioned since 1978.
Jaen, functioned since 1978.
Le6n, functioned since 1978.
Madrid, functioned since 1975.
Malaga, functioned since 1979.
Mallorca, functioned since 1971.
Murcia, functioned since 1977.

Rioja, functioned since 1979.

Aljarafe, Sevilla, functioned since 1975.

Sevilla, functioned since 1978.

Valencia, functioned since 1975.

Dénia, Valencia, functioned since 1978.

In Cataluña:

Cataluña, since 1979.

Anoai, functioned since 1979.

Badalona, functioned since 1979.

Barcelona, functioned since 1965.

Blanquerna, functioned since 1970.

Alt Empordá functioned since 1978.

Gerona, functioned since 1972.

Maresme, functioned since 1978.

Hospitalet, functioned since 1980.

Lerida, functioned since 1969.

Penedés, functioned since 1978.

Sta. Coloma de Grananet, functioned since 1980.

Tarragona, functioned since 1970.

Tierras del Ebro, functioned since 1979.

Vallés, functioned since 1979.

Malaga, functioned since 1973.

Albacete, functioned since 1978.

Getafe, Madrid functioned since 1980.

Menorca, functioned since 1977.

"Cuadernos de Paedagogia" No. 83 November 1981. Barcelona

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Appendix C

Chronological Table

1812 The "Cortes " of Cadiz proclaim the Constitution.

1823 Fernando VII issues an Absolutist Manifiesto.

1830 The Universities are closed.

1833 Death of Fernando VII.

First Carlist war.

1835 Religious orders dissolved

1836 Religious orders' property is sold.

1837 Church property is sold. "Desamortización"

1838 First infant school created by Pablo Montesinos

1839 End of Carlist war.

- 1840 Abdication of Queen Maria Cristina.
- 1841 Espartero is named regent.
Unrisings against Espartero.
- 1845 Fourth Constitution proclaimed
Education Plan Pidal for secondary and
higher education.
- 1846 Isabel II becomes Queen.
- 1851 Concordate between Spain and Vatican signed.
- 1854 Progressive risings. Constitutional "Cortes".
- 1856 Constitution of 1845 reestablished.
- 1857 Education Act of Moyano.
- 1864 Queen Maria Cristina returns from exile
- 1865 Sanctions against University professors.
Students revolt severely repressed.
- 1868 Isabel II deposed. Provisional Government

Universal suffrage for men is established.

1869 New Constitution

1870 Isabel II abdicates in favour of her son
Alfonso xii. Amadeo of Savoy elected King.

1871 First Secondary Vocational School founded,
also Association for the Education of
women.

1872 Beginning of the second Carlist War.

1873 First Republic proclaimed.

1874 Military coup of General Pavia. Alfonso XII
is restored to the throne.

1876 End of Carlist war. New Constitution.
"Institución Libre de Enseñanza" is formed.

1879 "Partido Socialista Obrero Español" is founded.

1882 Pedagogic Museum was created. 1st Pedagogic
Congress held.

- 1884 Student revolts. Survey on education carried out by "Institución Libre de Enseñanza."
- 1885 Alfonso XII dies.
- 1886 Alfonso XIII is born.
- 1890 Universal suffrage is restored.
- 1895 War with Cuba.
- 1898 War with U.S.A. Defeat and loss of colonies.
- 1901 Ferrer Guardia created a number of schools.
- 1902 Alfonso XIII comes of age.
- 1906 Marriage of Alfonso XIII and attempted assassination.
- 1909 Ferrer Guardia is executed.
- 1910 Creation of "Escuela Nueva" in Madrid.
- 1913 Foundation of the "Liga para la Escuela Pública"

- 1914 Foundation of the Mancomunidad of Cataluña.
- 1917 General Strike
- 1918 Document of Escuela Nueva "Bases para un programa de Instrucción Pública".
- 1919 War with Morocco.
- 1922 Founding of Communist Party
- 1923 Beginning of dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.
- 1924 Father Poveda founded the Theresian Institute of Education.
- 1927 Founding of "FUE" student organization.
- 1928 University reform Act. "Ley Callejo"
Student protest.
- 1929 Students and professors strike in University.
- 1930 Primo de Rivera resigns. Student agitation continues.

- 1931 Student strikes. II Republic proclaimed.
Proclamation of the Constitution.
- 1932 Bishops' pastoral against the Constitution.
- 1933 Founding of "Falange Española".
- 1934 Government of the right. General strike.
Insurrection in Asturias. Severe repression
in Asturias.
- 1935 Franco named Chief of Staff of the Central Military
District. Change of government.
- 1936 Parliament dissolved. Popular Front wins the
elections.
Military rising against the Government. Civil War.
Legislation suppressing coeducation, lay education,
use of national languages in schools in Franquist
zone. Purge of teachers commenced.
- 1938 Reform of Secondary Education Act in Franquist zone.
- 1939 Defeat of the Republic. Franco troops enter Madrid.
End of the Civil War. Food rationing commences.

1940 Act restoring confiscated property to original owners.

State Vertical Trade Unions created. Decrees
authorising

repression of masons and communists.

1942 Act forbidding strikes.

1943 University organization Act.

1944 Guerrilleros invade the Valle of Aran

1945 New Act on Primary Education.

1949 Bill on Vocational Education introduced but never
really put into effect.

1946 UNO advises the removal of ambassadors from Spain.

1948 Communist Party suspends guerrilla activities.
Prince Juan Carlos returns to Spain to commence his
studies.

1950 Spain admitted to FAO. Diplomatic relations
resumed with Spain.

- 1951 General strike in Barcelona. Ruiz Jimenez named Minister of Education.
- 1952 End of bread rationing. Spain is admitted into UNESCO.
- 1953 Leadership of PSOE arrested. Concordate with Vatican. Elections in the State Vertical Unions. Agreement with USA on Military Bases and credit.
- 1955 Spain admitted to UNO.
- 1956 Student struggles in Madrid. PCE develops policy of National reconcilliation. Ruiz Jimenez dismissed as Minister of Education.
- 1957 Student actions in Madrid and Barcelona. Miners' strike in Asturias. New Opus Dei Government.
- 1958 Spain joins OECD. Strikes in Asturias, Euzkadi and Valencia. Strikes in nearly all Universities. OCDD report on Spain. Promulgation of Negotiated Salary Agreements Act.
- 1959 Franco inaugurated "Valle de los Caidos". Attempt at National pacific strike which failed. "Plan de

Estabilización*

- 1960 Beginnings of tourism.
- 1962 Application to EEC refused. Strikes in Euzkadi. Student actions in Barcelona and Madrid. Many arrests. Miners strikes all over the country. Strikes in Madrid and Barcelona. State of Emergency declared.
- 1963 Execution of Julian Grimau. Strikes in Asturias. Intellectuals protest against tortures of miners.
- 1964 First Development Plan. Student assemblies. First Workers Commission of metal workers elected in Madrid. Strikes and protest actions.
- 1965 Student actions supported by professors, five of whom are removed from their chairs. End of SEU, Falange student organization. Workers Commissions created all over the country.
- 1966 Strikes in Madrid and Barcelona. Student actions in all Universities. Barcelona University closed. Large demonstration of CC.OO in Madrid. Union elections and success of CC.OO candidates.

Organic Law creating the Monarchy after Franco.

- 1967 Strikes and demonstrations called by CC.OO
in Madrid. Leaders arrested. Student strikes.
State of emergency in Vizcaya.
- 1968 Villar Palasi named Minister of Education.
Great agitation in Euzkadi. Creation of 3
new Universities in Madrid, Barcelona and
Bilbao.
- 1969 Student actions. Student killed in the hands
of the police. State of emergency in all Spain.
White Paper appears. Prince Juan Carlos is
named Franco's successor. New government, all
technocrats.
- 1970 Increase in social conflicts. Strikes all over
the country. Lawyers' Congress demand amnesty.
Education Bill passed. Burgos trial and 6 death
sentences, later commuted.
- 1971 Assembly of Bishops and priests critical of the
Regime. Builders workers strike in Madrid.
- 1972 Student agitation in all Universities. Strikes

in Galicia. Arrests of CC.OO leaders in Madrid.
Renewal of leadership of PSOE with militants
working inside Spain.

1973 Demonstrations and severe repression. General
strike in Pamplona. New government, no longer
Opus technocrats. Carrero Blanco assassinated.
Trial of CC.OO leaders. Teachers strikes all
over the country.

Appendix D

Glossary of Spanish names and words used throughout the thesis.

ACIES = Cooperative Association of School Printing.

(Freneit)

ACNP = National association of Catholic propagandists.

Catholic lay organization.

adjunto, agregado = assistant State secondary teacher.

Asociación de Padres = Parents' Association

created by 1970 Act.

Asociación de Padres de Familia = Parents'

Association created by Falange.

aula = classroom.

Ayuntamiento = Town council/town hall.

Bachillerato Elemental = first stage of Secondary

education.

Bachillerato Superior = second and last stage of

secondary education.

BOE = Official State publication.

BUP = Secondary education created by 1970 Act

catedrático = State secondary teacher or University professor.

Caudillo = Chief used to describe Franco.

CC.OO = Workers Commissions.

Club de Amigos de la UNESCO = Friends of UNESCO Club.

Colegio de Licenciados = Arts and Science Graduates' Association.

colegio de piso = pirate school in inadequate building and conditions.

Colegio profesional = Graduate Association for the different professions.

Consejo Nacional de Educación = National Council of Education.

Convenio Colectivo = negotiated wage agreement.

Cortes = Parliament.

cortijo = large farm in the south of Spain with workers dwellings organized in a semi feudal manner.

CSIC - Higher Council of Scientific Research.

desamortización = the selling off of Church property in the 19th century.

EGB = Primary education created by 1970 Act.

enlace = Union representative in Vertical State Union.

Escuela de maestria = Higher Vocational School.

Escuela moderna = Modern School.

Escuela Unificada = Unified School.

estraperlo = black market.

ETA = "Euskadi ta Askatasuna". Nationalist Basque armed
organization

FAI = Iberian Anarchist Federation.

FERE = Organization of Religious Order Schools.

FLP "Felipe" = National Liberation Front
Catholic left organization.

FP = Vocational teaching.

FUDE = Students organization.

FUE = Students organization.

Guardia Civil = Civil Guards. Rural police force.

GOES = Workers study groups organized by HOAC.

HOAC = Catholic Workers Association.

ICE = Institute of Educational Sciences, created
by 1970 Act.

Instituto de Bachillerato = State secondary school.

Instituto Laboral = Vocational school.

Institución Libre de Enseñanza = Free Educational
Institution.

JOC = Catholic Youth Organization.

Junta = committee, governing body, board.

Ley de Educación = Education Act.

Ley Sindical = Trade Union Act.

Lo rat penat = Valencian cultural association.

MCEP = Cooperative Movement (Freneit)

Obra sindical = activities promoted by the Vertical
State Union.

oposiciones = competitive State entrance exams for
Civil Service or Schools, Universities.

Ordenanza Laboral = Labour reglamentation.

OSO = illegal Trade Union.

PCE = Spanish Communist Party.

Plan de Desarrollo = Development Plan.

Plan de Estabilización = Stabilizing Plan.

ponencia = text of a Bill.

ponente = spokesperson for a Bill.

PPO - Short vocational courses.

PREU = 6th Form, before the 1970 Act.

procurador = member of Franco Parliament.

profesional de 1o, de 2o etc. = classification of
workers, first, second
class.

PSOE = Socialist Party of Spain.

PSUC = Catalan Communist Party.

UGT = Socialist Trade Union.

Universidad Laboral = Residential Vocational
School created by Franco
Minister Girón.

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Interviews:

The following people were interviewed by the author with the following questionnaire serving as a guideline:

1. Where would you situate in time and location, the origins of the Teachers' Movement?
2. What were the claims and problems which mobilized teachers to the greatest extent?
3. What were the most significant characteristics of teachers as a social group?
4. What methods of struggle did they adopt?

5. How did the teachers' struggle fit in to the generalized, vanguard resistance to the Franco regime?

6. What impact and consequences did the Ministry's White Paper and subsequent Education Bill have?:

Jesus Gallego, a primary teacher in the private sector, who became President of the employees' section of the State Vertical Teachers' Union in Sevilla.

Carlos Abadía, who was a State Primary teacher.

Jose Ma. Fernandez Ruiz Tapeador who was a secondary teacher (PNN) in the State sector. He was elected to the Governing Body of the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Sevilla.

Aurelio Alvea, who was a primary teacher in the private sector and became President of all the employees section of the Vertical State Union.

Juan Rodriguez who was a primary teacher in the State sector.

Mariano Perez Galán who was a secondary teacher in the private sector, secretary of the Governing body of the "Colegio de Licenciados" of Madrid and now advisor to the

Presidency of the Spanish Government on education.

Jose Manuel Torre Arca who was a "catedrático" and President of the Association in Asturias. Subsequently he was appointed provincial delegate of the Min. of Education in Soria when democracy came.

A further interview took place with Blat Jimeno when he was head of the technical advisory cabinet of the Minister of Education in democracy, and who had been the principal author of the White Paper. No questionnaire was used in this interview.